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Unless otherwise indicated, these materials are full translations of articles appearing in People's Republic of China newspapers or releases emanating from PRC news agencies.

Quotations from Chairman Mao

In 1949 it was pointed out that the principal contradiction within the country was one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Thirteen years later the question of class struggle was reiterated, and mention was also made of the fact that the situation began to turn for the better. What is the Great Cultural Revolution for? To wage class struggle. Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers. Lin Piao wanted to overthrow the proletariat and attempted a coup. Did class struggle die out?

The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration, and building socialism.

Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois rights. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society; there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values.

After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials.

What! Take the "three directives as the key link"! Stability and unity do not mean writing off class struggle; class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it.

This person does not grasp class struggle; he has never referred to this key link. Still his theme of "white cat, black cat," making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism.

With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road.

Without struggle, there is no progress.

Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!

Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution. Will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? Why not? They will still be seen.

* * *

Great Cultural Revolution Will Shine Forever

- In commemoration of 10th Anniversary of May 16, 1966 Circular of Central Committee of Communist Party of China

by

Editorial Departments of Jen-min Jih-pao, Hung-ch'i and Chieh-fang-chün Pao

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

ten years ago, the may 16 circular of the central committee of the communist party of china was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader chairman mao. this brilliant marxist document sounded the clarion call for the great proletarian cultural revolution and illuminated the course of its triumphant advance. today, having won great victories in the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping and repulse the right deviationist wind to reverse correct verdicts, we warmly celebrate the 10th anniversary of the great cultural revolution and re-study the circular, which gives us a deeper understanding of the necessity and far-reaching significance of the revolution and greater confidence to persevere in continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

the circular was formulated in the fierce struggle between the proletarian headquarters headed by chairman mao and the bourgeois headquarters with liu shao-chi as its chieftain. it made an incisive criticism of liu shao-chi's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, exposed the reactionary essence of the "february outline report" (see note), refuted the fallacies against the great cultural revolution spread by the party persons in power taking the capitalist road, armed the whole party with the marxist-leninist theory of class struggle and proletarian dictatorship, and called on us to expose and criticize the bourgeois representatives in the party and seize that portion of the leadership they had usurped. the formulation of the circular proclaimed the bankruptcy of the "february outline report". since then the great proletarian cultural revolution has been forging ahead vigorously.

chairman mao points out: "we couldn't do without the great proletarian cultural revolution." this great revolution, which had been brewing for a long time, was the inevitable outcome of the acute struggle between the two classes, the two roads and the two lines. for years the renegade, hidden traitor and scab liu shao-chi

and company had made frenzied efforts to push the counter-revolutionary revisionist line and stubbornly stuck to the capitalist road. they did their utmost to oppose chairman mao's revolutionary line on all fronts: clamouring about capitalist "exploitation having its merits" and "consolidating the new democratic order"; drastically cutting down the number of co-operatives and practising "san tzu yi pao" (more private plots, more free markets, more enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits and losses, and fixing output quotas on a household basis -- translator); lauding to the skies the reactionary films "inside story of the ching court" and "the life of wu hsun"; and resisting the criticism of the play "hai jui dismissed from office". for a time liu shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters was in control of party power and the power in the cultural and propaganda fields and in many localities. capitalism and revisionism were rampant in the ideological and cultural departments under its control. hordes of ghosts and monsters came out into the open and filled the press, radio, books and works of literature and art. a grave situation in which the bourgeoisie exercised dictatorship over the proletariat developed in certain spheres in the superstructure. material incentives and "bonuses in command" were widely practised to lure people to the capitalist road. in a fairly large majority of factories and enterprises, leadership was not in the hands of real marxists and the masses of workers. our socialist economic base was not solid. if the great cultural revolution had not taken place, it would not have taken long before a counter-revolutionary restoration on a national scale would inevitably occur, our party would turn into a revisionist party, and the whole of china would change colour.

with great marxist-leninist insight, chairman mao perceived in good time the grave danger that the party capitalist-roaders were subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat. chairman mao points out in the circular: "those representatives of the bourgeoisie who have sneaked into the party, the government, the army and various spheres of culture are a bunch of counter-revolutionary revisionists. once conditions are ripe, they will seize political power and turn the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie." in the course of the current anti-right deviationist struggle, chairman mao has again pointed out: "you are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. it is right in the communist party -- those in power taking the capitalist road. the capitalist-roaders

are still on the capitalist road." in these important instructions, chairman mao profoundly analyzes the changes in the class relations and the characteristics of class struggle during the period of socialism, advances the scientific thesis that the bourgeoisie is in the communist party, develops marxism-leninism and further clarifies for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

in the past decade we have waged struggles against liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping. all these struggles have proved that the bourgeoisie is indeed inside the communist party. the party capitalist-roaders are the bourgeoisie's main force in its trial of strength with the proletariat and in its efforts to restore capitalism. the crux of the matter here lies in the fact that these capitalist-roaders are persons in power who have sneaked into the very structure of the dictatorship of the proletariat. chieftains of the revisionist line, like liu shao-chi, lin piao and teng hsiao-ping, hold a very large proportion of the party and state power. they are thus in a position to turn instruments of the dictatorship of the proletariat into instruments for exercising dictatorship over the proletariat, and they are therefore even more ruthless in their efforts to restore capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the party. the power they hold could be used to recruit deserters and renegades, form cliques to serve their own selfish interests, rig up a bourgeois headquarters, formulate a revisionist line and push it from top to bottom. they could consolidate and extend bourgeois right, protect their own interests, namely, the interests of the "high officials" who practise revisionism, embezzle and squander huge amounts of social wealth, energetically engage in capitalist activities, undermine and disrupt the socialist relations of production. hiding under the cloak of marxism-leninism and waving all sorts of ensigns, they are able to mislead for a time a number of people who lack an understanding of the real situation and a high level of consciousness, deceiving them into following their revisionist line. in short, they are political representatives of the bourgeoisie and, in the struggle against the proletariat, they are commanders of all social forces and cliques that resist the socialist revolution and oppose and work to undermine socialist construction.

teng hsiao-ping, the arch unrepentant party capitalist-roader, played the commander's role in vehemently stirring up the right deviationist wind which culminated in the counter-revolutionary political incident at tienanmen

square. before the great cultural revolution he was the no.2 chieftain of liu shao-chi's bourgeois headquarters. the two bourgeois headquarters of liu shao-chi and lin piao were smashed during the great cultural revolution and, when teng hsiao-ping was criticized by the masses, his words flowed in a spate of vows, such as "i'll mend my ways" and "i'll never reverse the verdict". but, once he resumed work and was in power, he threw off his disguise and, with hatred grown tenfold and frenzy grown a hundredfold, brought all his experience in counter-revolutionary political struggle into play to formulate a program and prepare public opinion for an organized and planned attack on the party, with the spearhead directed at our great leader chairman mao.

"take the three directives as the key link" -- this was teng hsiao-ping's political program for reversing correct verdicts and restoring capitalism. advertising the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, this revisionist program opposes taking class struggle as the key link and denies the party's basic line and the necessity for the great cultural revolution. teng hsiao-ping attempted to make it the "general program for all work" for a long time to come and to impose it on the whole party and the people throughout the country in order to pave the way for an all-round restoration of capitalism.

"seize ideological positions" -- this was a move teng hsiao-ping took to prepare public opinion for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. after he came to power, especially during last july, august and september and afterwards, political rumours were afloat and strange tales passed around here, there and everywhere in the society. all these rumours and strange tales originated with teng hsiao-ping and were fabricated by teng's rumour-mongering company. teng and company feverishly forged counter-revolutionary opinions by various base means to mislead the people and create splits. they directed the spearhead of their attack at the party central committee headed by chairman mao and raised a hue and cry to clear the way for teng hsiao-ping to usurp the party leadership and seize state power.

"the first and foremost thing is to grasp leading bodies" -- this was the organizational measure teng hsiao-ping adopted in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. he opposed the setting up of revolutionary leading bodies of three-in-one combination. he attacked and pushed aside the old, middle-aged and young cadres who upheld chairman mao's revolutionary

line, mustered unrepentant capitalist-roaders and put them in important positions, and assembled "restorationist legions" in his attempt to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. he did his utmost to keep in the party renegades and special agents, who had been identified as such during the great cultural revolution, so that they could stage a comeback sometime in the future.

"carry out all-round rectification" -- this was the plan of action teng hsiao-ping mapped out for his scheme to reverse correct verdicts and restore capitalism. the moment he issued the order for rectification, the sinister wind to reverse correct verdicts sprang up. through rectification he aimed to cancel with one stroke chairman mao's revolutionary line and policies, the achievements of the great cultural revolution and the superiority of the socialist system. the so-called rectification was in essence an attack on the proletariat by the bourgeoisie and an attempt at capitalist restoration.

these actions by teng hsiao-ping were a continuation and development of the reactionary "february outline report" which chairman mao had already criticized in the circular. teng hsiao-ping's "taking the three directives as the key link" is a carbon copy of the revisionist line which the circular describes as "completely denying that the several thousand years of human history are a history of class struggle", "completely denying the class struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the dictatorship of the proletariat over the bourgeoisie." the circular shows that peng chen deliberately spread rumours to divert people from the target of the struggle. it bitterly condemns the "rectification campaign" designed by peng chen, whose aim was to attack the proletarian left and shield the bourgeois rightists. teng hsiao-ping went still further. his line is a continuation of the counter-revolutionary revisionist line pushed by liu shao-chi and lin piao. if this line were followed, not only would the achievements of the great cultural revolution be nullified but also those of the entire chinese revolution. the capitalist road taken by teng hsiao-ping would lead back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old china and reduce china to an appendage of imperialism and social-imperialism. as chairman mao points out in criticizing the representatives of the bourgeoisie in the circular, "they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. together with the bourgeoisie and

the imperialists, they cling to the bourgeois ideology of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist system, and they oppose marxist-leninist ideology and the socialist system"; "their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle".

the historic merits of the great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by chairman mao lie in the fact that the scheme of the bourgeoisie inside the party to restore capitalism was smashed firmly and in good time, its counter-revolutionary revisionist line was criticized and that portion of the party and state leadership it had usurped was seized back to ensure the country's continuous advance along chairman mao's revolutionary line. the great cultural revolution's merits also lie in solving in theory and practice the cardinal question in the contemporary international communist movement, namely, how to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat and prevent the restoration of capitalism. hundreds of millions of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals have deepened their understanding of the fact that the great cultural revolution "is absolutely necessary and most timely". they hail it and say: "the great cultural revolution is excellent excl." only unrepentant capitalist-roaders like teng hsiao-ping harbour bitter hatred for it. bent on settling scores and reversing the correct verdicts of the great cultural revolution, he has offended the great majority of people. they do not agree with him nor will they allow him to carry on. "reversing correct verdicts goes against the will of the people." the will of the people, the party and the party members is for continuing the revolution and against restoration and retrogression. it is precisely for this reason that the great struggle initiated and led by chairman mao to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts has earned the wholehearted support of the entire party, the entire army and the people throughout the country. the struggle has won the full approval of the people and is much to their satisfaction. those who attempted to reverse correct verdicts and settle scores were extremely isolated and were soon brought to defeat.

we have won great victories, but the struggle has not come to an end. the struggle to criticize teng hsiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist line must be carried on in depth. we must never slacken our fighting will. the handful of class enemies will not be reconciled to their defeat. drawing lessons from

their failure, they are studying tactics and methods of how to deal with us. the revolutionary people must be soberly aware of this.

chairman mao has pointed out: "lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois right. we ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society: there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values." as long as these conditions exist, as long as classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist and as long as the influences of the bourgeoisie and international imperialism and revisionism exist, the historical phenomenon that "the capitalist-roaders are still on the capitalist road" will remain for a long time to come. on the first anniversary of the circular, chairman mao gave us this admonition: "the present great cultural revolution is only the first; there will inevitably be many more in the future." during the current struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, chairman mao has again pointed out: "after the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. on the other hand, a number of party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. why? because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." "will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? there is always need for revolution. there are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. that's why they want revolution. will contradictions no longer be seen ten thousand years from now? why not? they will still be seen." therefore, we must prepare ourselves ideologically for a protracted struggle against the capitalist-roaders and for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

chairman mao said at the beginning of this year: "without struggle, there is no progress." "can 800 million people manage without struggle? excl." the ten years of the great proletarian cultural revolution was a decade in which we advanced through struggle and brought tremendous changes to our country. studying marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought in the course of struggle, hundreds of millions of people have become more conscious of the need to combat and prevent revisionism and to continue the revolution. chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line has found its way even deeper into

the hearts of the people. by getting rid of the stale and taking in the fresh, our party has gained in strength and vigour. our army has grown stronger, after going through new tests and making fresh contributions to the people in "supporting industry, supporting agriculture, supporting the broad masses of the left, exercising military control, and giving political and military training". the militia has contributed to the consolidation of proletarian dictatorship through participation in the struggle to defend the motherland and in social class struggle. the three-in-one combination of the old, middle-aged and young has been adopted in the leading bodies at all levels, and millions upon millions of successors to the proletarian revolutionary cause are steeling themselves and maturing in the course of struggle in accordance with the five qualifications put forward by chairman mao. the socialist revolution in education, literature and art, medical and health work, science and technology has been advancing in giant strides through the acute struggle between the two lines. vast numbers of educated youth have gone eagerly to settle in the countryside, and cadres at all levels have persevered in taking the may 7 road. the mass movements to learn from tachai in agriculture and taching in industry are surging ahead. agriculture, industry and the entire national economy are thriving. our great motherland is a flourishing scene of prosperity. the great proletarian cultural revolution has further released the energies of the people in their hundreds of millions. the tremendous impact of this revolution, which is just beginning to show itself, will make itself felt with greater force with the deepening of the revolution.

we must continue our triumphant advance and carry forward the excellent situation. the broad masses of party members, cadres and other people must conscientiously study chairman mao's important instructions concerning the great cultural revolution and the anti-right deviationist struggle, study the theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, get clear on the questions of where the bourgeoisie is to be found and enforcing all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie, and persist in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution. we must acquire a profound understanding of the brilliant victories and tremendous significance of the great cultural revolution, wholeheartedly support the new socialist things, and consolidate and develop the victories of the great cultural revolution. we must deepen the criticism of teng hsiao-ping, beat back the right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts and deal resolute

blows at all counter-revolutionary sabotage. we must unite over 95 percent of the cadres and of the masses under the general objective of criticizing teng hsiao-ping, and continue to do a good job in the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base. we must "grasp revolution, promote production and other work and preparedness against war" and continuously advance socialist construction in all fields.

the proletariat is full of revolutionary optimism. we have faith in dialectics. we firmly believe that "the supersession of the old by the new is a general, eternal and inviolable law of the universe." ("on contradiction") however many twists and turns there are on the road of revolution and however many ups and downs it encounters, the truth of marxism-leninism-mao tsetung thought is irresistible and in the final analysis the masses, who account for over 95 percent of the population, want revolution. revolution will inevitably triumph over reaction and the new-born over the decadent -- this is a law of history. it is just over a century since the founding of marxism, and the old world has been shattered to pieces. today, capitalism and revisionism are declining like "a setting sun in the west wind". the clowns who go against the tide of history may have their own way for a time but will eventually be swept onto the garbage heap of history by the people. as marx and engels stated, the bourgeoisie's "fall and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." ("manifesto of the communist party") while commemorating the 10th anniversary of the circular, we are full of revolutionary pride as we review the course of struggle of the great cultural revolution, survey the excellent situation in which "orioles sing, swallows dart", and look forward to the bright future when "the world is being turned upside down". under the leadership of the party central committee headed by chairman mao, we are determined to persevere in taking class struggle as the key link and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

chairman mao's proletarian revolutionary line is invincible, and our advance cannot be stopped excl.

the great proletarian cultural revolution will shine forever excl.

NCNA Note:

(note: the "february outline report" refers to the "outline report on the current academic discussion made by the group of five in charge of the cultural revolution" which was approved on february 12, 1966 for distribution to the whole party by the counter-revolutionary revisionist peng chen who employed the most dishonest methods, acted arbitrarily, abused his powers and usurped the name of the party central committee. this outline report opposed carrying the socialist revolution through to the end, opposed the line on the cultural revolution pursued by the central committee of the party headed by comrade mao tsetung, attacked the proletarian left and shielded the bourgeois rightists, in order to prepare public opinion for the restoration of capitalism. it was a reflection of bourgeois ideology in the party; it was out-and-out revisionism.)

* * *

Intensify Study and Deepen Criticism of Teng*

by

Ch'eng Yüeh (程越)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

Great victories have been won in the struggle initiated and led by Chairman Mao to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse correct verdicts, but the struggle itself is not at an end. We must continue our victorious advance, conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important instructions, and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

It is essential to continue and deepen the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. From the viewpoint of class struggle, the appearance of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, as all past revisionist lines, is not accidental. As Lenin pointed out, opportunism "is a social product of an entire historical period." ("Bankruptcy of the Second International", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 654) Teng Hsiao-p'ing isolated himself from the entire Chinese people in his attempts to reverse verdicts, restore capitalism and turn things back. But his revisionist line, which was a concentrated expression of the bourgeoisie's frenzied attacks on the proletariat, had deep-rooted social origins. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's collapse is a telling blow to the bourgeoisie he represents. But the bourgeoisie will not step down from the stage of history of its own accord because of Teng's collapse, nor will the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie cease, and still less will the effects of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line vanish unless subjected to criticism. In the course of the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i's collapse was followed by the emergence of Lin Piao's revisionist line; after Lin Piao brought about his own destruction, Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line came to a head. Lin Piao's revisionist line was a continuation of Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, and Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is in turn a continuation of the Liu and Lin revisionist lines. The cause of all this lies in the fact that the bourgeoisie exists both in society at large and inside the Communist Party, that great numbers of petty bourgeois are still being remolded, great numbers of unreformed intellectuals still remain, class struggle has not died out, the struggle between the two roads--the socialist and the capitalist--has not abated, and the class and ideological origins giving rise to revisionist lines still exist in present-day society. Therefore, we must not stop or let up criticism of Teng because of his downfall; on the contrary, we must redouble our efforts and continue to deepen the criticism.

Although only a short time passed from Teng's resumption of work to his collapse, he had a program and public opinion and launched an organized and planned wild attack on Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the Party and the proletariat. He not only advanced a revisionist program but spread in all fields and on all fronts a host of Right deviationist absurdities aimed at reversing verdicts. His revisionist line, which is a concentrated expression of the bourgeoisie's hope of restoration and attempts at it, is invaluable teaching material by negative example for the proletariat and all other revolutionaries. From advocating "taking the three directives as the key link" to engineering the counter-revolutionary political incident at

* Excerpts of this article were carried by NCNA, May 26, 1976--SPRCM Ed.

Tienanmen Square, from "seizing ideological positions" to "carrying out all-round rectification," from opposing the restriction of bourgeois rights to worshipping everything foreign and committing national betrayal--Teng Hsiao-p'ing provided our socialist revolution and construction with a great deal of useful experience and lessons by negative example. By taking full advantage of this negative teaching material and making a penetrating criticism of Teng's revisionist line and his fallacies in theory and practice, we shall greatly deepen our understanding of Chairman Mao's theory, line, principles and policies concerning the continuing revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and enhance our consciousness in the struggle against the bourgeoisie, particularly the Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. It should be said that a lot of work remains to be done to deepen the criticism of Teng, and it is not true to say that "criticism has been made and there is nothing more to be criticized."

To deepen the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, it is essential to persevere in "reading and studying seriously so as to have a good grasp of Marxism." Chairman Mao's important instructions concerning theory and the anti-Right deviationist struggle are an important development of Marxism-Leninism; they are the most profound and forceful criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing as well as a powerful weapon for us in the criticism of Teng. So long as we make a conscientious study of Chairman Mao's instructions and have a really good grasp of them in the light of the prevalent conditions, we shall be able to steadily deepen our criticism of Teng in the right direction. Basing himself on the historical experience of the international communist movement and the two-line struggle in our Party, Chairman Mao points out in a further analysis of the question of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in socialist society: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." Chairman Mao's instructions, in particular his brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie is right inside the Communist Party, have further clarified for us the orientation for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Conscientiously studying Chairman Mao's instructions and getting a real understanding in theory of the important question that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party will help us gain a profound and comprehensive knowledge of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. Not only will we see why this line is wrong and reactionary, but we will also find out the class and ideological origins and the socio-economic basis of this line and know how to struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and dig out its roots step by step. In turn, criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing will help enhance our understanding of Chairman Mao's important instructions and raise our ideological and theoretical level and our ability to recognize and oppose revisionism. A clear and concentrated embodiment of the reactionary nature and characteristics of the bourgeoisie in the Party is found in the person of Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Will it not help us gain a more concrete understanding of the salient features of the current class struggle which is characterized by the bourgeoisie (being) inside the Party and the capitalist roaders still taking the capitalist road if we apply Chairman Mao's instructions to analyze and criticize the process of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's degeneration into an unrepentant capitalist roader and his relations with class enemies and

capitalist forces in society? Will it not help us gain a more concrete understanding of the relations between the bourgeoisie inside the Party and bourgeois rights if we apply Chairman Mao's instructions to analyze and criticize how Teng Hsiao-p'ing strengthened and enhanced bourgeois rights and protected the interests of those "high officials" who practiced revisionism? Will it not help us gain a more concrete understanding of the dangerous nature of the bourgeoisie inside the Party if we apply Chairman Mao's instructions to analyze and criticize how "once in possession of power," Teng Hsiao-p'ing frantically counter-attacked in an attempt to settle old scores with the proletariat in all fields which culminated in the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square? Integrating study and criticism in this way is an important means of gaining a deeper understanding of the nature, tasks and target of the socialist revolution and of heightening our consciousness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Persistently studying Chairman Mao's important instructions, relentlessly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, and summing our experience in the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party will certainly give a powerful impetus to our revolutionary cause of combating and preventing revisionism, consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and preventing capitalist restoration.

As Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line attacks the proletariat in all fields and represents in a concentrated way the interests and wishes of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, and as the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square is extremely good teaching material by negative example for us to analyze the character and dangerous nature of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, when criticizing Teng, it is both possible and necessary to link the criticism with the actual struggle between the two classes and the two lines in all fields of endeavour throughout the country. On this question, some advanced units have already gained a great deal of good experience, and leaders should learn from the masses and sum up the experience. The experience of these advanced units tells us that it is necessary not only to understand that class struggle is the key link, but also grasp it in actual work. Combining the criticism of Teng with grasping actual class struggle will make our criticism more penetrating and our understanding more profound, and this will in turn help us grasp actual class struggle with better results. Communists, leading cadres in particular, must gain a real understanding of the major issues of right and wrong in ideology between the two lines and foster the idea of carrying the socialist revolution through to the end before they can further raise their consciousness in implementing and defending Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. The current movement is being carried out under the leadership of Party committees at various levels. The spearhead of struggle has always been directed at Teng Hsiao-p'ing the arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party. We believe that cadres and the masses, tempered through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, are entirely able to keep to the general orientation of struggle. We should take a clear-cut stand in criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, unite over 95 percent of cadres and the masses under the general objective of criticizing Teng, continue to do well in the revolution in the economic base and the superstructure, grasp revolution,

promote production and other work and preparedness against war, and lead the masses to push forward the socialist revolution and construction in their areas and units.

To link criticism with actual conditions, it is necessary to combine the criticism of Teng with our effort to promote the development of new socialist things. Since the start of the great proletarian cultural revolution, new socialist things have emerged in an endless flow. The fundamental characteristic of all these new things is that they strengthen the dictatorship exercised by the proletariat over the borugeoisie in all spheres of the economic base and the superstructure. They are conducive to the consolidation and development of the socialist economic base and the closing of the gap between workers and peasants, city and country, manual and mental labor. These new things restrict and reduce the existing bourgeois rights in the fields of distribution and exchange and in the relations between people, and are conducive to the vigorous development of the socialist revolution and construction on all fronts. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the general representative of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, was consumed with hatred for these new socialist things and had stopped at nothing to try to strangle them. However, new things have always grown up in struggle. These new things were attacked, repressed and undermined by the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. Yet it was precisely in the process of opposing and criticizing the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao that they grew sturdily. Today, by penetratingly criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacies attacking new things, we will be able to recognize more clearly--in theory and practice--the vital significance of these new things in combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, so that we will constantly help these new things develop and grow and gradually dig out the soil and conditions engendering the bourgeoisie.

Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" We have won great victories in the struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, but the repudiation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line in theory and practice is still a long-term fighting task to which we must devote much effort and energy. To beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts is a continuation of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and the criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line is also a continuation of the criticism of the revisionist lines of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao. "With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe, and not ape Hsiang Yü, the conqueror seeking idle fame." We must promote the spirit of thoroughgoing revolution, continue to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, track down the counter-revolutionaries, and carry this major struggle bearing on the destiny and future of our Party and state through to the end.

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Capitalist Roaders Are the BOurgeoisie in the Party*

by

Fang Kang (方剛)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

In the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fire. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party and opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights, they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." This scientific thesis by Chairman Mao has penetratingly exposed the bourgeois nature of the capitalist roaders within the Party, further shown us the main target of revolutionary struggle during the entire historical period of socialism, and defended and developed the great Marxist-Leninist theory on class struggle and the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is not only a powerful ideological weapon for us in our current struggle to deepen criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and track down counter-revolutionary activities, but also a powerful ideological weapon for us in persistently continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, in combating and preventing revisionism. We ought to conscientiously study this instruction well in light of the actual situation in struggle.

The appearance of capitalist roaders and the bourgeoisie in the Party is an important characteristic of class struggle during the historical period of socialism and is closely linked to the change of class relations under the dictatorship of the proletariat. During the period of democratic revolution, the principal contradiction in our society was the contradiction between the proletariat and the masses of people on one side and imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism on the other. There were also opportunists, revisionists and chieftains of successive opportunist lines within the Party. They were agents of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes in the Party. But taking the bourgeoisie as a whole, they were merely the dependents of the bourgeoisie. Owing to the fact that the landlord and comprador bourgeois classes were in control of political power, the core and the main force of the bourgeoisie, their headquarters and their principal political representatives were outside the Party, not inside the Party. The great victory of the new democratic revolution overthrew the rule of imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism. State power came into the hands of the people of the whole country led by the proletariat. With China entering the historical period of socialist revolution, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie became the principal contradiction in society. And as our Party became the ruling party, the struggle between Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and the bourgeois, revisionist line determined not only the nature of the Party but also the nature

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and future of the whole country. From then on, we gradually deepened our struggle against the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party in all fields, centering around the fundamental question of whether or not to carry out socialist revolution. The "three antis" and "five antis" movements, the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production and the struggle against the rightists were all major struggles between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie after the founding of the People's Republic. In these struggles, the bourgeoisie outside the Party still possessed some strength in its contest with the proletariat. It still could have its own leaders. However, the complicated situation had already arisen in which the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party echoed and collaborated with each other. The bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes outside the Party launched frenzied attacks against the Party with support and backing from the bourgeoisie within the Party. Through the struggle between the two lines within the Party, we exposed the activities of the bourgeoisie inside the Party in opposing socialist revolution and criticized their revisionist line. This assured victories in the various important campaigns of socialist transformation. With the deepening of socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie outside the Party, placed in a position of the ruled, lost the means of production economically, suffered repeated defeats on the ideological and political front, and their strength gradually weakened. If it was said the bourgeois Rightists, when attacking the Party,still had the so-called "Chang-Lo alliance" to assume command, then after the anti-Rightist struggle it became much more difficult for the bourgeoisie outside the Party to openly coalesce to have a full-scale trial of strength with the proletariat, to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism.

Throughout the entire historical period of socialism, the principal contradiction is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. In view of changes that had taken place in the balance of forces between various classes, the class struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie has come to be more prominently manifested within the Party. The capitalist roaders, who appear in the Party as the core of the entire bourgeoisie, become the main danger in subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism. In carrying out socialist revolution, we must not only see that the old bourgeoisie and its intellectuals still exist in society and a large number of petty bourgeois elements are still undergoing transformation, but especially we must also see the bourgeoisie hidden in the Party, those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road. Only by waging resolute struggle against these capitalist roaders in the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and by persistently engaging in revolution against the bourgeoisie within the Party is it possible to assure the victory of the struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalist forces in society and genuinely grasp the key target of socialist revolution. He who does not know that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party is not a sober-minded proletarian revolutionary.

When summing up the historical experience of the Paris Commune, Engels pointed out: Following the establishment of the dictatorship of the proletariat, it is essential to "prevent the state and state organs from changing from servants of society to its masters" and "chasing after their own special interests." ("Engels' introduction to the 1891 booklet edition of 'Civil War in France'," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. II, pp. 335, 334) Following the victory of the October Revolution, Lenin analyzed

the actual situation of Soviet society at that time and clearly pointed out: "A new bourgeoisie exists in our country at present." ("The 8th Congress of the Russian Communist Party (B), Collected Works of Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 162) It was engendered from among the Soviet functionaries and petty producers. On the basis of the historical lesson of the Soviet Union turning revisionist and the actual experience of the dictatorship of the proletariat in our country, Chairman Mao set forth the brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie "is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road." This is a major development of Marxism-Leninism. During the past two decades and more since the founding of the PRC, Chairman Mao has not only penetratingly analyzed in theory the bourgeoisie within the Party, but also in practice led us to wage repeated struggles against the bourgeoisie within the Party. Chieftains of revisionist lines like Kao Kang, P'eng Te-huai, Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are people in command of the bourgeoisie in the Party. The several major line-struggles in the socialist period have all been struggles waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie in the Party headed by them. China's socialist system of proletarian dictatorship has constantly been consolidated and developed precisely through these struggles.

In his article "Analysis of the Classes in Chinese Society" Chairman Mao pointed out: "To distinguish real friends from real enemies, we must take a general analysis of the economic status of the various classes in Chinese society and of their respective attitudes toward the revolution." It is necessary, therefore, to use the Marxist scientific method to expose the bourgeois nature of capitalist roaders from the political and economic aspects in order to recognize that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party.

Pushing a revisionist line and keeping to the capitalist road--this is the most essential political characteristic of capitalist roaders in the Party. In analyzing capitalist roaders, we must first of all grasp this characteristic and find out its nature in terms of the political line. The formation by the capitalist roaders of a political faction within the Party with the intention of restoring capitalism is based on their common effort to push a revisionist line. Past chieftains of the revisionist line were invariably the chief representatives of this line. Revisionist chieftains like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing all wielded a large part of Party and state power. They could enlist deserters and renegades, form cliques to serve their own selfish interests, and rig up a bourgeois headquarters. They could turn the tool of the dictatorship of the proletariat into one of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. They could for a time hoodwink a section of people who did not know the facts and whose political consciousness was low and made them toe their revisionist line. In restoring capitalism, they were far more ruthless and dangerous than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. The revisionist line pushed by the capitalist roaders within the Party represented in a concentrated way the interests of the new and old bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, and this determined their bourgeois class essence. The socialist period is "a period of struggle between decaying capitalism and nascent communism." ("Economics and Politics in the Era of the Dictatorship of the Proletariat," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. IV, p. 84) The capitalist roaders, being the bourgeoisie in the Party, are undoubtedly part of the decaying bourgeoisie. And because it is a moribund class, its reactionary nature is more obvious.

"The rise of revisionism to power means the rise of the bourgeoisie to power." From practicing revisionism, Lin Piao developed to cooking up the "Outline of Project '571'" and staging a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat. The practicing of revisionism by Teng Hsiao-p'ing brought about such a counter-revolutionary political riot as occurred at Tienanmen Square. These shocking facts of class struggle have most sharply and vividly exposed the reactionary nature of the bourgeoisie inside the Party.

From the economic viewpoint, the reason why capitalist roaders are the bourgeoisie in the Party is that they represent the decadent capitalist relations of production. During the socialist period, the proletariat must constantly reform the superstructure and relations of production which are incompatible with the socialist economic foundation and productive forces and carry the socialist revolution through to the end. But capitalist roaders in the Party do their utmost to defend the superstructure and relations of production which hinder the development of the socialist economic foundation and productive forces and vainly attempt to restore capitalism. We shall be able to discern clearly the bourgeois nature of the capitalist roaders in the Party if we look at their status in the relations of production in society in light of Lenin's instruction on classes in the article "A Great Beginning" as well as in light of Chairman Mao's analysis in the article "On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People" concerning classes and class struggle in socialist society following the basic completion of the transformation of the ownership of the means of production. We may see in actual life that once the leadership of certain units or departments is seized by capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing, they will use their power to energetically push the revisionist line and turn the socialist relations between people into capitalist mercenary relations. They will use legal and largely illegal means to expand the bourgeois rights in the field of distribution and appropriate the labor of others without compensation. They will use their position and authority to control the means of production and consumption belonging to the state or the collective. As a result, the socialist system of ownership exists only in name, and actually turns into a capitalist system of ownership controlled by the capitalist roaders. In the final analysis, the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing is aimed at safeguarding the decadent and moribund capitalist relations of production, "maintaining the ideological system of the bourgeoisie oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the capitalist social system," and satisfying the economic interests of the entire bourgeoisie in a vain attempt to bring back the gloomy society in the days of the semi-colonial and semi-feudal old China.

The appearance of capitalist roaders and the bourgeoisie in the Party during the socialist period is not an accidental phenomenon, for it has deep class and historical origins. In the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao has pointed out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." Chairman Mao's instruction hurts the capitalist roaders in the Party where it hurts most. From the democratic revolution to the socialist revolution is a radical change. In the course of this change, differentiation within the

revolutionary ranks is inevitable. The workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants want revolution, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line reflects the demands of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and guides the whole Party and the people of the whole country to continue the socialist revolution. However, a section of people in the Party who cling to bourgeois democratic ideas and are reluctant to reform do not advance any more. In their view, the revolution has reached the end with the three big mountains overthrown and themselves gaining considerable political and material advantages. Among them, some have degenerated in revolutionary will and fallen far behind the times. Others who persist in the bourgeois reactionary stand, to protect their own and in fact the entire bourgeoisie's interests, come into the open to oppose the socialist revolution of the proletariat and the dictatorship of the proletariat in a vain attempt to pull back the wheel of history and restore capitalism. These people are the capitalist roaders in the Party holding power. The arch unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing is such a person. The road he takes is precisely one from a bourgeois democrat to a capitalist roader.

An important reason why capitalist roaders oppose the socialist revolution is that they are opposed to restricting bourgeois rights. Chairman Mao points out: "Lenin spoke of building a bourgeois state without capitalists to safeguard bourgeois rights. We ourselves have built just such a state, not much different from the old society; there are ranks and grades, eight grades of wages, distribution according to work, and exchange of equal values." Bourgeois rights are still unavoidable in the socialist period, and these traces left behind by the old society cannot be wiped out all at once; but they must be restricted under the dictatorship of the proletariat or else capitalist restoration will result. Bourgeois rights form an important economic basis for the generation of a new bourgeoisie. Some people in the Party whose world outlook has not been basically transformed and who do their best to strengthen and expand bourgeois rights will inevitably and gradually turn into capitalist roaders, into the bourgeoisie. Expanding bourgeois rights is in essence aimed at safeguarding the interests of the entire bourgeoisie and strengthening the social basis for restoring capitalism. The reason why the arch unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing was very upset and frightened by the criticism of bourgeois rights is that these rights are the lifeline of the bourgeoisie within the Party and that to restrict bourgeois rights is to revolutionize the life of the bourgeoisie in the Party. What attitude to take toward bourgeois rights in the socialist period and whether to restrict or expand them is an important hallmark of whether to continue the revolution or stand still and even oppose the revoluton. On this question, the struggle between us and the capitalist roaders in the Party, between restriction and counter-restriction, will be a protracted one.

The Communist Party is the vanguard of the proletariat. Will the proletarian nature of the Party be affected by the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party? This question should be explained with materialist dialectics. As Chairman Mao points out: "The law of the unity of opposites is the fundamental law of the universe. This law operates universally, whether in the natural world, in human society, on in man's thinking." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") Socialist society represents in itself a single entity of contradictions and struggle between the proletariat

and the bourgeoisie. Such contradictions and struggle likewise find expression within the Party. "Outside a party there exist other parties, and inside a party there exist factions; this has always been the case." "A faction is a wing of a class." The capitalist roaders constitute the Right in the Party, the bourgeoisie in the Party during the socialist period. Whether the nature of the Party will be changed by the existence of the bourgeoisie inside it will depend on the positions of the two contradictory aspects. "The nature of a thing is determined mainly by the principal aspect of a contradiction, the aspect which has gained the dominant position." ("On Contradiction") Whether a party is a Marxist-Leninist or a revisionist party is to be judged not by whether there is a bourgeoisie inside it, but, most basically, by whether the leadership of the party is in the hands of proletarian revolutionaries or in the hands of representatives of the bourgeoisie, by whether it is the Marxist line or the revisionist line that holds the dominating position within the party. The Chinese Communist Party is a party personally founded and fostered by our great leader Chairman Mao; it is a great, glorious, correct party. Under Chairman Mao's brilliant leadership and under the guidance of his proletarian revolutionary line, our Party has persistently developed the struggle between the two lines, unceasingly swept away opportunist factions within the Party, and surmounted the interference of the "Left" and Right opportunist lines, thereby maintaining the leading position of the Marxist-Leninist line in the Party and the Party's proletarian nature. Tempered through the great proletarian cultural revolution, our Party has become purer and stronger and has further developed and grown, fully playing the role of a vigorous vanguard organization leading the proletariat and the broad masses of people in the fight against class enemies. This is the nature and main aspect of our Party. Because our Party is a genuine revolutionary party of the proletariat, we dare to admit the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Party and dare to arouse and rely on the masses to persevere in the fight against the bourgeoisie in the Party. After rising to power, Khrushchev, Brezhnev and their ilk implemented a revisionist line of all-round capitalist restoration, causing the Soviet Communist Party founded by Lenin to turn into a revisionist, bourgeoisie, fascist party, and the world's first socialist country into a social-imperialist state. These renegades from the proletariat not only dare not admit the existence of the bourgeoisie inside the Soviet Communist Party, but also dare not admit that classes and class struggle exist in Soviet society. What they can do is to use such fallacies as "a state of the whole Party" and "a party of the entire people" to deceive themselves and others. The reason is that for them to admit this fact means to admit that they themselves are the monopoly bourgeoisie inside the Soviet Communist Party, and means that they themselves will perish.

Some comrades hold that the capitalist roaders within the Party not only have the title of "Communist Party members," but also appear in the capacity of leaders and some of them have very high positions, so it is not that easy to identify them. It should be acknowledged that the fact that as the bourgeoisie inside the Party, the capitalist roaders, who hold power in the Party and politically have all sorts of "protective colors," always resort to intrigues and schemes and deliberately create false impressions, adds to our difficulty to identify them. But, dialectical materialism tells us that all objective things can be known gradually through practice, and that agnosticism is idealistic and metaphysical. No matter how

good capitalist roaders in the Party are at disguising themselves, since they oppose Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and promote a revisionist line, they will eventually reveal their true features. As long as we truly grasp Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, the political telescope and microscope, we shall be able to distinguish major issues of right and wrong in terms of the line and discern their bourgeois reactionary nature. In fact, when Teng Hsiao-p'ing was stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, in many places the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres, revolutionary intellectuals and educated youth stepped forward with a clear-cut stand and, withstanding the wind, resolutely defended Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and waged a tit-for-tat struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. They have provided us with valuable experience in identifying and defeating the bourgeoisie inside the Party. By making strenuous efforts to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and to earnestly sum up the experience of actual struggle, we shall be able to increase our ability of cognition.

In 1962, our great leader Chairman Mao in an analysis of the class struggle situation at home and abroad pointed out with foresight: "The next 50 to 100 years or so, beginning from now, will be a great era of radical change in the social system throughout the world, an earth-shaking era without equal in any previous historical period. Living in such an era, we must be prepared to engage in great struggles which will have many features different in form from those of the past." Chairman Mao's brilliant thesis that the bourgeoisie is right in the Communist Party is a shining example of integrating the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete practice of China's socialist revolution. The struggle of the proletariat and the broad masses of people against the bourgeoisie inside the Party is a great struggle which has many characteristics different in form from those of the past. We must carry forward the revolutionary style of study which entails integrating theory with practice, conscientiously study and understand Chairman Mao's important instructions, understand this important question of the bourgeoisie being in the Party, try to learn the nature of the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the method of handling it, and unceasingly sum up the experience of the struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party. However formidable the task of socialist revolution and devious the road of advance may be, we are convinced that with the leadership of the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the future of the revolution is bright. "The doom of the bourgeoisie and the victory of the proletariat are equally inevitable." ("Communist Manifesto," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. I, p. 263.)

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We Must Not Be Too Foolish

- Study the Preface and Introductory Notes to "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique"

by

P'an Feng (潘锋)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

In 1955, under the great leader Chairman Mao's leadership, we waged a struggle against the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique. This was a soul-stirring class struggle after the founding of the PRC. The Hu Feng clique was a counter-revolutionary political clique hanging out the signboard of "literature and art." By resorting to heinous double-dealing tactics, they wormed their way into the revolutionary ranks to carry out counter-revolutionary activities in an attempt to topple socialist new China. In this struggle, Chairman Mao personally wrote the preface and the main introductory notes to the "Material on the Hu Feng Counter-Revolutionary Clique," when he incisively analyzed the law and characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period, systematically laid bare the despicable and vicious counter-revolutionary tactics and tricks of class enemies, and expounded the line, principles and policies concerning the work of suppressing counter-revolution. They are a sharp ideological weapon with which to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat. Amid the upsurge in the deepening struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and track down counter-revolutionaries, it is of great instructional significance for us to re-study the preface and introductory notes written by Chairman Mao himself and to review the series of his teachings on how to struggle against covert counter-revolutionaries.

As early as the eve of nationwide liberation, Chairman Mao wisely predicted: "After the enemies with guns have been wiped out, there will still be enemies without guns; they are bound to struggle desperately against us, and we must never regard these enemies lightly." ("Report to the 2nd Plenary Session of the 7th Central Committee of the Communist Party of China") In the struggle to smash the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique, Chairman Mao again emphatically pointed out: "If it can be said that there are still representatives of the royalists in the bourgeois French National Assembly, there may well be representatives of the Chiang Kai-shek dynasty carrying out activities in various localities years after the complete elimination of all exploiting classes from the earth. The diehards of them will never admit their defeat." These theses of Chairman Mao's incisively explain the protracted nature of class struggle in the period of socialism. The socialist revolution is the first revolution in the history of mankind which is aimed at eliminating all systems of exploitation and finally abolishing all classes. As such, it is bound to meet with ferocious resistance from overthrown reactionary classes. Our struggle against them is protracted and tortuous. In the past 20 years and more, we have seen clearly that the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution has never ceased. First, the diehards of old counter-revolutionaries refuse to admit defeat, and they will make trouble and carry out sabotage whenever an

opportunity presents itself. Second, "when existing counter-revolutionaries are suppressed, some new counter-revolutionaries may still appear." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") The emergence of new counter-revolutionaries is not accidental. The existence of imperialism and social-imperialism in the world and the existence of classes and class struggle as well as bourgeois rights and the ideologies of various exploiting classes at home provide the class and social origins giving rise to new counter-revolutionaries. Newly engendered counter-revolutionaries and the old ones have a common class nature. They are all extremely hostile to the Communist Party and the socialist system. They go all out to oppose the dictatorship of the proletariat and continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. They oppose and sabotage the socialist cause and frantically pursue capitalist restoration. With the reactionary, moribund and decadent features of both the old and new bourgeoisie, they are extremely frenzied and destructive in nature. If we see only the existence of the old counter-revolutionaries without taking note of the engendering of new counter-revolutionaries and their reactionary nature, we shall be able neither to really grasp the law and characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period nor to effectively fight for a consolidated dictatorship of the proletariat.

With the socialist revolution deepening, sabotage activities by counter-revolutionaries are always closely connected with the effort of the bourgeoisie inside the Party to restore capitalism. This feature has become more and more apparent. Chairman Mao points out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist road roaders are still on the capitalist road." The bourgeoisie in the Party is the main target of the socialist revolution. In pushing the revisionist line, the criminal aim of the Party persons in power taking the capitalist is to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and to restore capitalism. They want to do away not only with the achievements of the socialist revolution but also those of the democratic revolution in an attempt to turn China back to the old semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Therefore, the capitalist roaders represent in a concentrated way the interests and desire of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and of unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists, becoming their political representatives and commanders and having their approval and support. Going against the will of the people by practicing revisionism and taking a perverse course of action, the capitlaist roaders also need a handful of counter-revolutionaries to serve as their social basis. "Exploiting classes that have been destroyed will always put up resistance through their counter-revolutionary political parties, cliques or certain individuals." Capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, in effect, play the role of chieftains of both the old and new bourgeoisie. Class enemies pin their hopes of restoration on capitalist roaders, and in their criminal activities counter-revolutionaries are also encouraged and supported by capitalist roaders. As the worker-peasant-soldier masses said figuratively, "The capitalist roaders in the Party yell on the stage, the counter-revolutionaries dance below the stage. The capitalist roaders in the Party catch a cold, the counter-revolutionaries contract influenza." The handful of counter-revolutionaries who made trouble at Tienanmen Square, incited by Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his revisionist line,

showed their extreme brutality and reactionary nature, beating people, setting fire and doing every evil thing. It can be seen that capitalist roaders and counter-revolutionaries wallow in the same mire and work hand in glove with each other, thus making the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution even more acute and complicated. And when the counter-revolutionaries suffer defeat and wage a desperate, death-bed struggle, such violent forms of struggle as counter-revolutionary riots may even appear.

Counter-revolutionaries are the most decadent and reactionary part of the exploiting class. They resort to all possible means to oppose the people's revolutionary cause, as the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique did. Chairman Mao pointed out: "They are experienced in protracted class struggle and can wage struggle in various forms--legal and illegal. We revolutionaries must know their tricks and study their tactics so as to defeat them. We must not be too bookish and take an oversimplified view of the complex class struggle." What merits our attention is that some of the despicable and vicious counter-revolutionary tactics adopted by the Hu Feng clique in the bygone years have now been used by present-day chieftains of the revisionist line and a handful of class enemies.

Rumors are created out of the void. In former days Hu Feng and company fabricated many political rumors to viciously attack and slander Chairman Mao's line, principles and policies on literature and art and to attack and slander the Chinese Communist Party. In the period from last summer to the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, a host of reactionary political rumors also appeared in society, with the spearhead of attack directed at Chairman Mao, the Party Central Committee headed by him and his revolutionary line. They originated from "The Teng's Rumor-Mongering Company." The reason why the chieftains of revisionist lines and counter-revolutionaries attach so much importance to the role of reactionary political rumors is that since they have neither the truth nor the support of the masses, they have to wantonly use this cheap weapon which kills without drawing blood to cover up their reactionary features and deceive the public. Counter-revolutionary political rumors are always used to prepare public opinion for counter-revolutionary restoration, and the fabrication of rumors becomes an indispensable part of counter-revolutionary activities. Where restorationist activities are carried out by class enemies, there bizarre rumors will emerge. But rumors are after all contrary to objective facts and cannot hold water. Confronted with people with a high political consciousness, rumor-mongers invariably crash to pieces and reap the fruit of what they have sown.

"It is requested that Ch'ao Ts'o be put to death in order to purify the ranks around the emperor." The Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique adopted this tactic to attack Chairman Mao and the Chinese Communist Party on the pretext of attacking a few. Chairman Mao pointed out: "Since Liu Pi, prince of the Wu State, invented the famous tactic of calling for the killing of Ch'ao Ts'o (chief strategist of Emperor Ching of the Han Dynasty), to purify the ranks around the emperor, many careerists have regarded it as a priceless treasure, and the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique too inherited this mantle." Likewise, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and a handful of counter-revolutionary elements took over this mantle. They did not hesitate to adopt various despicable means, such as trumping up charges to shift the blame onto others, in a vain attempt to frame up those leading comrades who resolutely implement Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and to split the

Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. The counter-revolutionary tactic of calling for "purifying the ranks around the emperor" represented an important step taken by them to usurp the leadership of the Party and the power of the state and to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat.

"Seize a pretext to make an issue and open a breach." The Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique used this tactic to oppose the Party and the people. Under the guise of helping with the rectification of workstyle, they launched a full-scale attack against Chairman Mao's line on literature and art, the Chinese Communist Party and the dictatorship of the proletariat. They plotted to use this to open a breach and seize power from the Party. This tactic was also used by a handful of counter-revolutionaries elements who engineered the counter-revolutionary riot at Tienanmen Square. They seized a pretext to make an issue, viciously attacked the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao and the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, and made bitter complaints on behalf of the arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing. By so doing, they attempted to open a breach here, change the course of socialism, and restore capitalism.

"The counter-revolutionaries are not that clumsy." Following the development and changes of the situation of class struggle, they also unceasingly sum up counter-revolutionary experience, change their struggle strategy, and vary tactics of attack. "They are always considering what tactics to use against us and 'gauging the direction of the wind' in order to achieve their end. Sometimes they would 'feign death' and wait for the opportunity to 'counter-attack'." We must remain sober-minded at all times, closely watch the new trends of class struggle, seriously study the new characteristics of counter-revolutionary activities, and expeditiously expose the new tricks of class enemies so as to frustrate all their intrigues and conspiracies.

However ferocious and tricky counter-revolutionaries may be, they can hardly escape the fate of complete destruction under the dictatorship of the proletariat. This is because they belong to the reactionary class approaching its doom, and they are only a handful, representing a very small percentage of the population. Since they move against the tide of history and oppose the people, they will surely be resolutely attacked and indignantly condemned by the masses of people. That is why they are extremely isolated and feeble. Confronted with the iron bastion of the people, any disturbance and sabotage by counter-revolutionaries can only end in shameful defeat.

The key to expose and smash in time all intrigues and conspiracies of class enemies lies in the application of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to raise the consciousness of class and line struggles on the part of vast numbers of cadres and the masses. When we make clear the major issues of right and wrong on the question of line, we shall be able to stand firmly on the side of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, promptly expose all sinister counter-revolutionary tricks, and wage a struggle against class enemies with a clear-cut stand. During the counter-revolutionary political incident at Tienanmen Square, right from the start many comrades sensed the wrong political atmosphere and became alert. As the incident developed,

the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, revolutionary cadres and revolutionary intellectuals came to see more and more clearly that this was a frenzied attack launched by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a handful of counter-revolutionaries, and so firmly struggled against them. The brave counter-attack by the worker-militia in the capital caused this counter-revolutionary disturbance to disintegrate instantly. Had we not distinguished right from wrong in the line, we would certainly fail to see clearly the reactionary nature of the counter-revolutionaries and would take a wrong stand. While exposing the wild attempt by the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique to drag some within our ranks into the water, Chairman Mao pointed out cogently: "When Communists who made ideological and political mistakes are criticized, what attitude should they take? Here there are two roads for them to choose: One is to correct their mistakes and be a good Party member; the other is to go on degenerating and even fall into the counter-revolutionary pit. The latter indeed exists, and counter-revolutionaries may be beckoning there!" Today, 20 years later, it still warms our heart when we review this admonition of Chairman Mao's. It is an extremely important question whether some comrades who were criticized during the great proletarian cultural revolution can adopt a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, toward the masses and toward themselves. If they resent and dislike the great cultural revolution and want to settle old scores with it and reverse its verdicts, then counter-revolutionaries may beckon to them. Therefore, we must earnestly study Marxist-Leninist works and Chairman Mao's writings, strive to transform our world outlook, raise our consciousness of the struggle between the two lines, maintain a high degree of revolutionary vigilance, and wage a resolute struggle against class enemies.

At a time when the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique was exposed, Chairman Mao pointed out: "If it is said the Hu Feng clique has given us some positive things, it is that through this soul-stirring struggle, we have considerably raised our political consciousness and sensitivity, resolutely suppressed all counter-revolutionaries, and enabled our revolutionary dictatorship to be greatly consolidated, so that we may carry the revolution through to the end and reach the goal of building a great socialist country." The struggle to smash the Hu Feng counter-revolutionary clique realized Chairman Mao's prediction and demand. For the past 20 years and more, we have resolutely enforced Chairman Mao's correct policy "counter-revolutionaries must be suppressed wherever they are found, and mistakes must be corrected wherever they are discovered." This has had a tremendous impact on consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, accelerating the development of socialist revolution and construction, educating and tempering the Chinese people. Suppressing counter-revolutionary, sabotage activities is a fundamental task of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Lenin said: "The revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat is a state power secured and maintained by the proletariat through applying violence to the bourgeoisie, a state power that is not bound by any law." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky", Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 623) We must not apply "mercy" to a handful of class enemies. We must use the iron fist of proletarian dictatorship to suppress all counter-revolutionary activities and deprive counter-revolutionaries of freedom of speech and action. It is a criminal act to condone counter-revolutionary activities. Where

counter-revolutionary disturbances appear, they must be resolutely smashed. In order to deal steady, accurate and harsh blows to counter-evolutonaries, with the emphasis on accuracy, we must strictly discinguish and correctly handle the two different types of contradictions and firmly strike at the fabricators of counter-revolutionary political rumors and planners of counter-revolutionary sabotage activities. With regard to those who pass on and believe in rumors, people who are cheated into doing something wrong, stress should be laid on conducting ideological education and summing up the experience and lessons. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "People with Right deviationist thinking make no distinction between ourselves and the enemy and take the enemy for our own number. They regard as friends persons whom the masses regard as enemies. People with 'Left'-inclined thinking magnify the contradictions between ourselves and the enemy to such an extent that they take certain contradictions among the people for contradictions between ourselves and the enemy and regard as counter-revolutionaries those who are not." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") We must bear in mind this instruction of Chairman Mao's.

"With power and to spare we must pursue the tottering foe, and not ape Hsiang Yü the conqueror seeking idle fame." We must fully arouse and rely on the broad masses to resolutely suppress all counter-revolutionaries, consolidate and develop the achievements of the great cultural revolution and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end.

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Teng Hsiao-p'ing Is the Biggest Splittist in the Party

by

Lung Wei (龙巍)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, is the biggest splittist in the Party. In the current upsurge of penetratingly criticizing him, repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and tracking down counter-revolutionaries, it is necessary to uncover and criticize his crimes of splitting the Party.

"Taking the three directives as the key link," dished up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing behind the backs of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, is a revisionist as well as a splittist program. Lenin said: "Unanimity on the question of Party program and on the question of tactic is an indispensable condition for assuring inner-Party unity and the centralization of Party work." ("One Step Forward, Two Steps Backward," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. I, p. 482) Without a program and unanimity on the line, there is no Party solidarity. Our Party Constitution has clearcut provisions concerning the Party's basic program and basic line based on Chairman Mao's analysis of the nature and law of class struggle during the historical period of socialism. Adhering to the Party's basic line and enforcing the Party's basic program form the basis for the unity of the whole Party. Negating class struggle as the key link and tampering with our Party's basic program and basic line by "taking the three directives as the key link," Teng Hsiao-p'ing aimed at countering Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, undermining Party unity and splitting the Party. No wonder that once this sinister program was released, unrepentant capitalist roaders and class enemies in society alike went into action one after another and launched frenzied attacks against the Party. This has clearly revealed the splittist, reactionary essence of "taking the three directives as the key link."

Lenin pointed out in his struggle against Trotsky's splittism: "It is splittism no more and no less, insofar as it most shamelessly betrays the will of the majority of workers." ("The Act of Crying for Unity While Undermining Unity," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, p. 495) Lenin took the betrayal of the will of the majority as a mark distinguishing splittism, and this we should use as a sharp weapon in criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's splittism. Our Party is devoted to the public interest. Wholeheartedly serving the people is the only aim of our Party. All our words and deeds are based on the greatest interests of the broadest sections of people. By stirring up the Right deviationist wind, reversing the decisions of the great cultural revolution and settling account with it, and frantically opposing Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to bring everything back to the orbit of the revisionist line which he and Liu Shao-ch'i pushed before the great cultural revolution--in complete betrayal of the interests of the majority of people. Joining the Party for selfish purposes and working for a few, namely, the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, he was bound to run into opposition by the vast numbers of Party members, cadres and revolutionary masses and to create splits in the Party.

Undermining the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young is an outstanding manifestation of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to split the Party organizationally. The three-in-one combination is a new thing that emerged from the great cultural revolution and is an important organizational measure for carrying out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. Viewing the three-in-one combination as the greatest obstacle to his pushing the revisionist line, Teng tried by every conceivable means to wreck it. On the one hand, he rejected and attacked those old, middle-aged and young cadres who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; in particular, he wanted to strike down those new cadres who persisted in continuing the revolution. On the other hand, he "engaged hermits" and "called to office people who have fallen into obscurity" in an attempt to restore to power those unrepentant capitalist roaders and unreformed bourgeois intellectuals who were dissatisfied with the great cultural revolution and wanted to settle the old scores with it and who opposed the socialist revolution. If his plan were followed, could our Party still have organizational solidarity? Could there be still unity to speak of?

Creating counter-revolutionary rumors on a wide scale is an important means by which Teng Hsiao-p'ing vainly attempted to split the Party. Around last summer, when the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts was at its height, a host of political rumors, which were absurd and bizarre, appeared in society. Where did these things come from? They came from Teng's rumor-mongering company. Teng Hsiao-p'ing himself is the biggest rumor-monger. Hiding in dark corners, he fanned up wind and set fire, sowing seeds of discord with rumors and false accusations and vainly attempting to create confusion in order to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. How dirty his tactics and how much he had degenerated politically! What he did was not accidental. Lu Hsün once said: "Rumors are indeed expected by the rumor-mongers themselves to become facts, and we should take this as an opportunity to look at the thinking and action of a section of people." ("Roses Without Blossoms, Part III," Sequel to Hua Kai Collection) Didn't the large quantity of counter-revolutionary political rumors precisely expose Teng Hsiao-p'ing's reactionary, dirty thoughts and acts? Living on rumors, however, is not something Teng Hsiao-p'ing invented, but is a tactic habitually resorted to by all reactionaries. The reason why they did so was that they had no other alternative but to deceive others with rumors and lies and at the same time deceive themselves as well, as their acts were perverse, truth was not in their hands and the masses were not on their side. However, rumors are after all rumors, and once the truth is brought to light, people will see their ugly features more clearly.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is obviously the biggest splittist in the Party, and yet he adopted double-dealing tactics and disguised himself, sometimes crying himself hoarse for "unity." Did his "unity" mean unity of the proletariat? Unity founded on the basis of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line? Certainly not. He never talked unity with the proletariat but was only too pleased to put it to death. Nor did he talk unity with the cadres and the masses who carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary like, and he tried by every means to strike them down. His "unity" was aimed at uniting those unrepentant capitalist roaders and unreformed bourgeois intellectuals as well as the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party to join him in attacks against the Party. In a talk, scarcely had he spoken about "unity" than he attacked the discussion and criticism of Water Margin for "creating problems"

and "practicing conspiracies." In the big poisonous weed prepared on his order, "On the General Program for All Work of the Whole Party and the Whole Nation," he willfully distorted Chairman Mao's directive concerning stability and unity and attacked Communists who adhered to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line as "anti-Marxist class enemies." This fully illustrated that his "unity" meant dismemberment in reality. It was precisely he, and no one else, who practiced conspiracies and opposed Marxism.

The counter-revolutionary political incident which broke out at Tienanmen Square not long ago shows more clearly than anything else that Teng Hsiao-p'ing is the chief culprit in undermining Party unity. A handful of counter-revolutionaries who engineered the Tienanmen Square incident viciously accused the Chinese Communists who upheld Marxism-Leninism of "emasculating Marxism-Leninism." They wildly attacked the activities to hit back at the Right deviationist wind as "activities by a small handful of careerists to reverse verdicts," and madly directed the spearhead at the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by him. The target of their attack was precisely the target at which Teng Hsiao-p'ing pointed his spearhead. When he stirred up the Right deviationist wind, negated the great proletarian cultural revolution and socialist new things, opposed restriction of bourgeois rights and opposed discussion and criticism of Water Margin, he directed his spearhead exclusively at the great leader Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. When a small handful of counter-revolutionaries publicly unfurled the ensign of supporting Teng Hsiao-p'ing and frantically clamored for "Teng Hsiao-p'ing to take charge of the Central Committee's work," this was precisely what Teng Hsiao-p'ing had sought in his dreams. Teng Hsiao-p'ing's desire to split the Party was translated into the practical action of a small handful of counter-revolutionaries. What Teng wanted to speak and do was made a clean sweep of by this tiny group of counter-revolutionaries. The counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square was the inevitable outcome of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's splittism; it brightened people's eyes and enabled them to see more clearly the reactionary and dangerous nature of splittism.

The practice of splittism by Teng Hsiao-p'ing is not accidental, but has deep class origins. In socialist society there are still classes, class contradictions and class struggle. Not only does the old bourgeoisie exist, but a new bourgeoisie is continually engendered, particularly in the Communist Party. The existence of the old and new bourgeoisie and the fact that capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road provide the class origins for the generation of splittism in the Party. Under the circumstances where the socialist revolution is victorious and continues to deepen, the bourgeoisie in society is increasingly discredited and its strength weakens more and more, the bourgeoisie within the Party thus becomes the main force for the restoration of capitalism. Capitalist roaders like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing are people in command of attacks launched by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party against the proletariat. Since they practice revisionism, restoration and regression, they are bound to create splits within the ranks of the proletariat. As long as capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road, the danger of our Party splitting remains and we must continually struggle against splittism.

After summing up the experience of the two-line struggle of our Party over the past 50 years and more, Chairman Mao pointed out: "Practice Marxism, and not revisionism; unite, and don't split; be open and aboveboard, and don't intrigue and conspire." These three fundamental principles are a mighty ideological weapon for us to identify, uncover and defeat splittism. Our struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing has made us further recognize that revisionism is the political and ideological source of splittism, that splittism is the organizational manifestation of revisionism, and that intrigues and conspiracies are a tactical means of practicing revisionism and splittism. We must firmly uphold the three fundamental principles set forth by Chairman Mao, strengthen the revolutionary unity of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country, and carry the socialist revolution through to the end.

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Leaders Must Learn from the Masses

by

An Ch'ün (安 群)

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In the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind, the great leader Chairman Mao has time and again emphasized that "the masses are the real heroes." He pointed out that very often people of the lower ranks have a higher level than those of the higher, that the masses are wiser than leaders, and that leaders are less adept than ordinary laborers. We must seriously study and profoundly comprehend this important instruction of Chairman Mao's, penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, positively restrict and break down bourgeois rights with respect to the relationship between leaders and the masses, and consciously learn from the masses.

The masses of people are makers of history. The wealth of society, both material and spiritual, is created by the broad masses of the laboring people. Revolutionary struggle by the masses of people is the motive force for the development of human society. The replacement of an old social system by a new social system is invariably the outcome of brave struggles by the masses of people. Every victory won in China's proletarian revolution has been won through mass revolutionary struggles under the guidance of Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. The fact that the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing tried to reverse the verdicts on the great cultural revolution, settle account with it, oppose socialist new things and negate the revolutionary practice of the masses in their millions fully exposes his reactionary stand and reactionary, idealist conception of history. In the struggle to criticize him and repulse the Right deviationist wind, we must further solve the problem of "whether it is heroes or slaves who make history." We must unswervingly take the stand of historical materialism, fully recognize the great role of the masses of people in making history, and must not follow Teng Hsiao-p'ing's rumors and sophistries.

Chairman Mao pointed out in the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." Chairman Mao also stated: "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there still be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution. There are always sections of the people who feel themselves oppressed; junior officials, students, workers, peasants and soldiers don't like bigshots oppressing them. That's why they want revolution." In this important instruction, Chairman Mao highly praises the socialist enthusiasm of the masses of people and profoundly reveals the reactionary nature of Teng Hsiao-p'ing in practicing revisionism,

in having bigshots oppress the masses, and opposing revolution. He correctly pointed out the motive force and target of the revolution during the socialist period, and incisively expounded the necessity and importance of leaders learning from the masses and handling their relations with the masses properly. The social position of the masses of people determines their desire for revolution, their ardently longing for the future instead of hankering after the past. Before the liberation, they were oppressed and exploited, and they urgently demanded the destruction of the old world and the building of a new society. After the victory of the democratic revolution, they became the masters of the house and their social position underwent radical changes. From their personal experience they felt that "only socialism can save China." ("On the Correct Handling of Contradictions Among the People") They realized that they could have a bright future only by achieving communism and that standing still or going backward was no way out. The proletariat can ultimately free itself only by freeing the whole of mankind. As long as there are still classes and the vestiges of the old system and old ideas and the birthmarks of the old society still exist, the proletariat cannot speak of having achieved thorough liberation, and there will always be people who practice capitalism and oppress the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other revolutionary people taking the socialist road. Therefore, on the journey of socialist revolution, the masses of people, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, always display a high level of revolutionary ardor and initiative, continually break through all nets which fetter them, create socialist new things and open up the path toward communism. The torrent of socialist revolution cannot be stemmed. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this fellow traveller of the Party, did his best to protect the interests of high officials after himself becoming a high official following the victory of the democratic revolution. Opposed to the socialist revolution, he vainly attempted to restore the old order and turn back the chariot of society. The masses of people naturally opposed and criticized him. Every Party member, cadre and particularly leading cadre should learn the experience and the lessons from Teng Hsiao-p'ing, this teacher by negative example, consciously take the side of junior official, students, workers, peasants and soldiers, modestly learn from them, lead them forward and under no circumstances oppress them.

The masses of people are the direct participants in the three great revolutionary movements of class struggle, the struggle for production and scientific experiment; they are the mainstay of social practice. Their practical experience is extremely rich and extensive in scope, and their knowledge and talent are inexhaustible. This is because people's knowledge and talent are accumulated through the practice of struggle; they neither drop from the skies nor are inherent in people's minds. In the three great revolutionary movements, the masses of people, through repeated studies and comparisons, have gained rich experience not only of struggle for production but also of class and line struggles. As Chairman Mao has pointed out: "In a certain sense, the wisest, the most talented and the most experienced are the fighters." On the contrary, leaders are often less adept than ordinary laborers because they divorce themselves from the masses and have no practical experience. We often across this situation: some erroneous

things which cannot be recognized or boycotted by leaders are recognized and boycotted by the masses; in the face of certain important issues of right and wrong, leaders adopt an ambivalent attitude while the masses' attitude is clear-cut; when studying revolutionary theories, some problems are not understood by leaders but can be clearly explained by the masses. Doesn't this fully show that the masses are wiser than leaders? Leaders' knowledge and talent can be derived only from the masses, and they will accomplish nothing if they divorce themselves from the masses and do not learn from the masses.

Marxists have always attached immense importance to learning from the masses. Marxism has been developed on the basis of the experience of mass revolutionary struggle. Marx's well-known dictum that "the working class must not simply master the ready-made state machine" ("Civil War in France," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. II, p. 372) is based on the revolutionary experience of the members of the Paris Commune. In his brilliant work "A Great Beginning," Lenin raised a series of theoretical questions of carrying out the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, and this work was based on the appearance among the workers of the new thing, "Saturday voluntary labor." Our great leader Chairman Mao said a long time ago: "To join the comrades of the whole Party in learning from the masses and continuing to be a primary pupil--such is my wish." ("Preface and Postscript to 'Rural Surveys'") At every stage in the development of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao invariably made a scientific summing up of the experience of the mass revolutionary struggle using the Marxist-Leninist stand, viewpoint and method and in light of the situation and tasks at the time, and in time pointed out for us the direction of advance. The revolutionary practice of these mentors of revolution tells us that the duty of leaders is to learn from the masses, sum up their experience and lead them forward. To become a good leader, one must insist on the practice of coming from the masses and going back to the masses, and become a pupil of the masses first before becoming their teacher.

The principal contradiction in socialist society is one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Under socialist conditions, bourgeois rights with respect to mutual relations between people unavoidably exist, a situation that will remain for a relatively long time. Whether leaders can humbly learn from the masses and put themselves in the right position is actually a question of whether it is necessary to restrict and remove bourgeois rights with respect to the relationship between leaders and the masses, a matter of prime importance directly bearing on combating and preventing revisionism, weakening the soil for the generation of the bourgeoisie, and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The cadres of our Party are the servants of the people; they are public servants. The relationship between leaders and the masses is a revolutionary comradely relationship. However, as the traces of the old society still exist in the political, economic and ideological fields, there are in fact still certain differences between leaders and the masses. If leaders do not adopt a correct attitude nor positively take measures to narrow such differences and instead, believe that such differences are sacred and inviolable and even abuse the power given by the masses of people, then they will become aristocrats who lord it over the "lower orders." In this way, the relationship between

leaders and the masses will change in nature. Take an enterprise for example. If leaders there do not look upon the masses as masters of the enterprise but always feel that since they are wiser than the masses, they have the final say, they are bound to deprive the masses of the right to manage their enterprise. In that case, not only would leaders not accept the supervision of the masses, but they would impose "control, checks and coercion" on the masses and abuse their authority. Not only would they willfully dominate the distribution of materials but they would willfully dominate the employment of people. Instead of putting politics in command, they would promote "material incentives." With the passage of time, the masses would turn from being masters of the enterprise to wage laborers, and leaders from being public servants to capitalist roaders and owners of the enterprise. Capitalist restoration would then appear. This deserves our vigilance.

For a long time exploiting classes cooked up a whole set of reactionary concepts of historical idealism such as "the highest are wise and the lowest are stupid" and "those who work with their minds govern others; those who work with their might are governed by others." These reactionary concepts were used to deceive the people and to defend their reactionary rule. It was only when socialist society came into being and the masses of people became masters of the house that history which had been reversed for a long time was for the first time restored to its original features. The revisionist bigshots such as Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted to overthrow the dictatorship of the proletariat, overthrow the position of the masses of people as masters of the house, reverse history again, and revert China to the semi-colonial, semi-feudal old China. But in the end they headed for the direction contrary to their desire. These teachers by negative example tell us: we must pay heed to preventing and overcoming the undesirable tendency to become bureaucratic overlords. If some people do not want to become one with the masses, they will only divorce themselves from the masses, place themselves in a position hostile to the masses and be opposed by the masses. As Chairman Mao said: "The more you put on the airs of a veteran before the masses and play the 'hero,' the more you try to peddle such stuff to the masses, the less likely they are to accept it." ("Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art")

That some cadres are often unable to handle their relationship with the masses well and to learn from the masses humbly should most basically be attributed to the question of world outlook. The idealist world outlook which reflects the old system will not disappear from people's minds at once. If leaders are to put themselves in the right position and handle their relations with the masses well, they must follow Chairman Mao's teaching "read and study seriously and have a good grasp of Marxism," overcome the influence of bourgeois ideology and strive to transform their world outlook in the practice of revolutionary struggle. The question of transformation of world outlook is frequently talked about by everyone of us, but to really transform one's world outlook well is not that easy. Especially for some leading comrades who are accustomed to a privileged life, the task of transforming world outlook is much more difficult than that for ordinary laborers and cadres. If only these comrades take out some time and go among the masses to see what the masses are thinking and doing and how they have created one socialist new thing after another with the communist spirit, it will not be difficult for them to find that the masses are the real heroes while they themselves are so childish. The socialist revolution is now deepening with

every passing day and the workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and the broad revolutionary masses are advancing without interruption. We should make an effort to catch up with them. Lenin once pointed out with extreme seriousness: "If we are willing to remain socialists, we should go to the low and lower strata, namely, the real masses, and it is here that the entire significance and content of the anti-opportunist struggle rest." ("Imperialism and Schism in the Socialist Movement," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. II, pp. 897-898) In the course of the great struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, how important it is for leaders at all levels to earnestly solve the question of learning from the masses!

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Leading Cadres Must Take Part in the Battle with a Clear-cut Stand

by

Yen Liang (阎亮)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

The current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and track down the counter-revolution is developing in depth. This is a major struggle that has a bearing on the future and destiny of our Party and state. In this struggle, leading cadres at all levels must take a clear-cut stand, enforce and defend Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, and lead the broad masses to participate in the battle positively.

Tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, many leading cadres have considerably raised their awareness of class and line struggles. When Teng Hsiao-p'ing was stirring up the Right deviationist wind, some leading cadres had already perceived, resisted and criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. And since the struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind was unfolded, many comrades, actively responding to the call of Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, have hoisted a clearcut banner and led the broad masses to uncover and criticize Teng's counter-revolutionary revisionist line. Particularly during the counter-revolutionary political incident which took place at Tienanmen Square, a handful of counter-revolutionaries openly presented Teng Hsiao-p'ing as China's Nagy, blatantly attacked our great leader Chairman Mao and tried to split the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. Such naked counter-revolutionary acts provide, by negative example, the vast numbers of cadres with an extremely profound lesson on class and line struggles. Some comrades who were at first taken in by Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line also quickly turned around and actively plunged into the battle to criticize Teng. Party committees at all levels have strengthened their leadership to enable the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to deepen gradually and to continually achieve new victories.

Naturally, there are also a small number of leading cadres who, because of their inadequate understanding of the deceptive and reactionary nature of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, are not sufficiently energetic or enthusiastic in leading the movement. This is a manifestation of their low level of consciousness of class and line struggles. Hence, there is special need for such comrades to seriously study and deeply comprehend Chairman Mao's important instructions concerning the theory of proletarian dictatorship and beating back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, so that they may raise their understanding of the vital significance of the current struggle. The criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing represents yet another big battle between Marxism and revisionism, between

the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. Chairman Mao says: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." In this instruction Chairman Mao incisively analyzes the changes in class relations and the characteristics of class struggle in the socialist period, and points out in unmistakable terms that the target of the socialist revolution is the bourgeoisie, with the focus on capitalist roaders in the Party and that the main danger is revisionism. With the socialist revolution deepening and the dictatorship of the proletariat ever more consolidated, the bourgeoisie in society and unreformed landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries, bad elements and Rightists pin their hopes of restoration on the bourgeoisie inside the Party. Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a representative of the bourgeoisie inside the Party. After he went back to work, he tossed out the sinister program of "taking the three directives as the key link," and opposed taking class struggle as the key link as well as rejecting the Party's basic line. He was opposed to restricting bourgeois rights and went all out to defend the interests of the "high officials" who practiced revisionism. Wielding the big baton of "rectification," he vigorously attacked and strangled socialist new things, reversed the decisions of the great cultural revolution and settled the old scores with it. He incited a handful of counter-revolutionaries to create counter-revolutionary public opinion on a wide scale and engineer the Tienanmen Square counter-revolutionary political incident. What he did represented the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party. Had his restorationist conspiracy been allowed to succeed, the heads of millions and millions of Communists would roll and the masses of people would fall into the pit of deep sufferings. For this reason, our struggle against Teng Hsiao-p'ing involves the major question of whether the proletariat should dictate to or be dictated to by the bourgeoisie, and of whether to persist in building socialism with communism as the goal or to restore capitalism and go back to the semi-colonial and semi-feudal society. Faced with this major struggle, as a Communist who devotes his life to the struggle for communism and as a leading cadre who leads the masses forward, one must not take an ambivalent stand or an indifferent attitude; otherwise, one would lose the proletarian Party spirit and, with the passage of time, would make mistake. This is very dangerous.

There are also an extremely small number of leading cadres who have a great deal of worries about personal gains and losses instead of boldly coming to the forefront of the movement and earnestly taking up the duty of leadership. This is because these comrades, influenced by Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, have said or done something wrong, and are afraid that they themselves may come under fire. Such worries are not necessary, nor is it a correct attitude to take toward one's mistakes. "We should have faith in the masses, we should have faith in the Party." Tempered by the great cultural revolution, the broad masses are capable of telling right from wrong in line, capable of carrying out Party policies and of firmly grasping the general orientation of struggle. If only these comrades draw a line of distinction with Teng Hsiao-p'ing, resolutely struggle against his revisionist line, actively lead the masses to repulse the Right deviationist wind, raise their consciousness in struggle, heighten their understanding of their own

mistakes, and correct their mistakes with concrete action, then they will be forgiven by the masses. Therefore, these comrades should lay down their packs, go to the battle with light equipment and fight positively. If they are afraid of this or that, cover up contradictions and evade struggle, they will only go farther on the wrong road.

Chairman Mao says: "Reversing verdicts goes against the will of the people." By stubbornly trying to reverse the decisions of the great cultural revolution and settle old scores with it, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has offended the majority of people, and they will not support him nor allow him to do what he wants. The people, the Party and the Party members want to go forward and oppose going backward. That is why the great struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind, started and led by Chairman Mao himself, has won the unanimous approval of the whole Party, the whole army and the people of the whole country. The broad masses have generated vast revolutionary enthusiasm by concentrating the fire of criticism against Teng. Our leading cadres should see such enthusiasm of the masses and give full play to it; they should continue to push the anti-Right deviationist wind struggle forward and develop the excellent situation of the revolution.

Our leading cadres at all levels are charged with the heavy responsibility of leading the socialist revolution and construction in various areas and units. As classes, class contradictions and class struggle exist throughout the socialist period and as the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party try by all possible means to restore capitalism, the first requirement of leading work, complex as it is, is to firmly implement the Party's basic line and grasp class and line struggles. We must dare to resist and criticize the bourgeoisie and revisionism. We must dare to expose, track down and struggle against counter-revolutionary activities and rumors. If we did not dare to expose, criticize and struggle against the bourgeoisie, revisionism and counter-revolutionary activities, we would fail in our duty, lay down our arms and surrender to the class enemy, and let down the Party and the people for their expectations and trust. Chairman Mao says: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" The relationship between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie is certainly not an equal relationship, but a relationship between the oppressing class and the oppressed class. Only by persevering in struggle can we educate and unite the people, attack the enemy, develop the excellent situation, and win new victories in revolution.

Marx and Engels pointed out in Communist Manifesto: "The Communists disdain to conceal their views and aims." Chairman Mao also said: "We must firmly uphold the truth, and truth requires a clear-cut stand. We Communists have always disdained to conceal our views." ("A Talk to the Editorial Staff of the Shansi-Suiyuan Daily") Each and every Communist Party member, especially leading cadre of the Party, should take a clear-cut political stand conformable to the Party's principles, unswervingly uphold truth from first to last, and fight for truth with a clear-cut banner. On such a major question of political principle as the struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between Marxism and revisionism, between revolution and counter-revolution and between the correct line and the erroneous line,

we Communists must take a clear-cut stand and must not be ambivalent as to what we support and what we oppose. This is the precious fighting style of a proletarian party, a style which is determined by the nature of the proletarian party. Communists believe that their cause is just, represents the direction of social advance, and conforms to the law of historical development. Therefore, they are always full of vigor and vitality and with confidence increased a hundredfold, wage an unyielding struggle against the bourgeoisie, revisionism and all class enemies. Our leading cadres must promote this fine fighting style of the proletariat and, with a clear-cut stand, high fighting spirit and abundant enthusiasm, lead the broad masses to engage in penetrating criticism of Teng and carry the anti-Right deviationist wind struggle through to the end!

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How We Criticize Teng in the Light of Actual Conditions

by

Party Committee of Changch'un City Sewing Machine Manufacturing Plant

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

Since the start of the struggle personally initiated and led by our great leader Chairman Mao to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, the workers and cadres of our plant, under the leadership of the Party Committee at the higher level, have earnestly studied a series of Chairman Mao's important instructions, penetratingly criticized Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line and reactionary crimes, and taking a clear-cut stand, acted in direct opposition to the revisionist line. As a result, the revolution has developed vigorously and production has soared with each passing day. The excellent situation in the plant has been further developed.

By summing up our experience in the preceding period of struggle, we have come to realize that to criticize Teng, it is necessary to take actual conditions into account, and that failure to do so would lead one to the wrong path as criticism is separated from action. One may be clear about what is criticized, but when one acts, one loses the sense of direction. This is why our criticism of Teng is related to the reality of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in our plant. Educated in this way, both cadres and the masses have become more conscious of the need to enforce Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line and developed in greater depth the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

After the struggle against the Right deviationist wind was initiated, the cadres and masses of our plant conscientiously studied the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions and concentrated their criticism on the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" dished up by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. After a period of criticism, some comrades wondered: Since study classes and criticism meetings had been held, was there anything more to criticize? We summed up the experience of those workshops where the movement was conducted with better results, and saw that they had done a good job of criticizing Teng in light of the actual conditions in their own units and they not only knew class struggle was the key link but also were able to grasp it in practical work.

Then we aroused the masses to carry out criticism in light of class struggle, past and present, in our plant, thereby enabling everyone to gain a greater perception of the reactionary essence of the theory of the dying out of class struggle advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Our plant was established in 1958 during the great leap forward by the merger of six handicraft works and cooperatives. Every forward step we have taken since then has been the result of serious struggle. Through the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, we criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and firmly grasped class struggle. But struggle has not come to

an end. The socialist relationships between the leadership and the masses and between workers and cadres are bedevilled by bourgeois rights and the idea of these rights. Such things as material incentive, putting bonus in command and "control, check and coercion" that had been criticized during the great cultural revolution may resurface given the opportunity. Old ideas and erroneous lines constantly interfere with and undermine such new socialist things as the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young, the contingent of worker-theorists, the workers propaganda team and the link-up between factory and school. A few degenerate elements among the workers collaborate with bad elements in society, with corruption, theft and speculation causing damage to the socialist economy. Bourgeois ideas and the habitual forces of the petty producers still constantly corrode the worker ranks. A host of facts clearly indicate the hypocritical and reactionary nature of such fallacies as "taking the three directives as the key link" and "How can we talk about class struggle every day?" advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing. With class struggle being as acute and complex as it is, Teng Hsiao-p'ing nevertheless argues "How can we talk about it every day?" Does he not explicitly want to stamp out the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie and to instigate the latter to mount a frantic attack on the proletariat? To follow him is to allow the new and old bourgeois elements to run amuck, to induce a change in the nature of the enterprise and the color of our state. Criticizing Teng in light of reality enables everyone not only to gain a better theoretical perception but at the same time to have more practical experience. The criticism has become richer in content and more militant in nature.

Seeing through Teng Hsiao-p'ing's sinister motive in advocating the theory of the dying out of class struggle, we became more conscious of the need to adhere to the Party's basic line and to unremittingly develop the proletarian struggle against the bourgeoisie. At this moment, some comrades asked: Do we deviate from the general orientation of criticizing Teng by grasping class struggle in our plant? We discussed this question and unified our views. It was unanimously agreed that deepening criticism of Teng is consistent with grasping the current class struggle in the plant. The revisionist line pushed by Teng Hsiao-p'ing represents the interests of the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, and the class basis of this line is the new and old bourgeois elements whose political representative is none other Teng Hsiao-p'ing. Grasping the current class struggle in our plant well means deepening our criticism of Teng by concrete action. The worker comrades said rightly: "We must fight Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line. We must talk about class struggle and grasp it every day." While concentrating on criticism of Teng, we constantly analyze the trends of class struggle in our plant, master the initiative in class struggle, scathingly criticize capitalism and revisionism, deal resolute blows to the sabotage activities by a handful of class enemies and remain alert against the backlash of the revisionist line on enterprise management. As for those bad elements who attack the great cultural revolution, cause incidents and sabotage production, we mobilize the masses to struggle against them. Capitalist tendencies are subject to severe criticism. We also take the initiative to attack bourgeois ideas through such forms as political evening school, poetry contest, and singing songs from model theatrical works and other revolutionary songs. As a result of our effort to grasp class struggle, the evil winds of the bourgeoisie have been suppressed, the justice of the proletariat has been promoted, and tremendous changes have taken place in the mentality of both

cadres and the masses. With more attention paid to studying theory and reading revolutionary books and magazines, the evil wind to listen to and pass on rumors and read bad books has been held in check. As more attention is paid to diligently and industriously running the enterprise and practicing economy, tendencies to turn what is public into what is private and to do private work have abated. With more people devoted to building socialism by selfless labor, there are fewer people who love leisure and dislike labor and who do not do their best in work. The whole plant has become more and more advanced in many aspects as its backwardness has been gradually minimized. Of 56 shifts in the plant, some 20 have attained the advanced status.

In the course of criticizing Teng in light of the actual conditions and of grasping class struggle in the plant, we have persisted in "helping more people through education and narrowing the scope of attack," while paying attention to strictly distinguishing the two different types of contradictions. Shortly after the start of the movement, some people demanded that cadres who said something wrong be criticized by name. The Party committee promptly worked on them and changed their idea of making criticism by naming names. At the same time, it also educated the cadres who had said wrong things. We pay constant attention to guiding the cadres and the masses in distinguishing those who say or do something wrong because of their insufficient understanding of new things from those who viciously attack the great cultural revolution and socialist new things, in distinguishing those who are taken in by rumors because their minds are unclear from those bad persons who deliberately create counter-revolutionary political rumors, and in distinguishing those who cause technical incidents in production from those who deliberately sabotage production. We carry out patient and meticulous ideological work among comrades who make this or that mistake because they fall under the influence of the revisionist line and bourgeois ideas, unfold an active ideological struggle, and help them lay down their packs and go to battle with light equipment so as to join in the common effort to criticize Teng.

In light of actual conditions, we have criticized the reactionary fallacy peddled by Teng Hsiao-p'ing that "relying on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," and raised our consciousness of "wholeheartedly relying on the working class."

Through the great cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the workers have heightened their consciousness, emancipated their minds, and strengthened their sense of responsibility as masters. The cadres too have greater faith in the masses and rely on them. But the question of on whom to rely in running enterprises has not been fully settled. As far as our leading group is concerned, there have been some reversals in thinking. It does not always work with a clear aim in mind. When it has problems, it thinks of the masses; after problems are resolved, it forgets the masses. When something good is done, it acknowledges that the masses are the real heroes; when trouble crops up, it blames the masses. Under normal conditions, it arouses the masses and give them a free hand, but when the tasks are tight, it thinks of "control, checks and coercion." It likes the opinions of the masses if these suit their thinking; otherwise, it rejects them. At any rate, it thinks that it is wiser than the masses and believes in itself more than in the masses. Several years ago, the foundry workshop of our plant was placed in a rather passive position.

Some comrades then brought out a plan for rewarding excess output that had been rejected long ago and renamed it a measure for paying additional wages, a measure, they said, could surely stimulate enthusiasm and push production forward. At that time, we agreed to try it out in two teams. But after a period of trial, it was rejected by the masses. The worker comrades pointed out incisively that this was going backward. Later, members of the Party committee went to the workshop to take part in labor, grasp ideo-political work, and arouse the enthusiasm of the workers. As a result, this previously backward workshop quickly became an advanced one. Criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy of "relative reliance" in light of this fact enabled us to clearly understand the importance of relying on the masses to run the enterprise. "Relative reliance" as advocated by Teng Hsiao-p'ing means false reliance or non-reliance, a vain attempt to practice the revisionist "management of factory by experts" and "one-chief system," to impose the bourgeois dictatorship in the factory and to restore capitalism. At the same time, we further understood that whether or not to rely on the masses of workers is not an ordinary question of method but one of the line, in effect, a question of which class should hold the leadership of the enterprise.

Through criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's "relative reliance" fallacy, the line has been drawn more clearly. The idea of relying on the working class in running the socialist enterprise well has been established even more firmly. We have seriously summed up the new experience in relying on the workers to run the socialist enterprise well since the great cultural revolution started, with the course of summing up the experience as a course of criticizing Teng and a course of further implementing Chairman Mao's instruction "wholeheartedly rely on the working class." Since the great cultural revolution began, we have taken effective steps in the spirit of the "Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" to organize the masses to participate in management. Some comrades took the view that the need for mass management was more or less satisfied when representatives of the masses joined the leadership body and scores of worker comrades were promoted to be cadres in the factory, workshop and other functioning offices. After study and criticism, we realized that it was not as simple as that. Mass participation in management, a new thing can be constantly developed and improved and enriched in content only if we continue to struggle and in particular continue to criticize the wrong idea of distrusting the masses.

Criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy of opposing reliance on the working class has enabled cadres and the masses to display more enthusiasm for socialism. Leaders and the masses have become more closely united. The cadres and the masses pool their efforts together. A situation where everyone discuss the line, major issues, unity and the general good, promote a fine style of work and help one another has appeared. Mass participation in management has been made more secure and perfect ideologically, organizationally and institutionally. The worker comrades say: "We are masters of the factory, and we must share with the leadership the burden of management. We must act in direct opposition to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line." Workers do not hesitate to criticize any deviation from Chairman Mao's revolutionary line; they do not hesitate to make suggestions to the leadership when necessary. When they find that some cadres do not take part in labor according to schedules, they take the initiative to talk to these cadres. When they find that the labor organization in

the workshop is irrational, they positively recommend remedial measures. In March this year, when all leading cadres at and above the workshop level in the plant were attending a study class, we did not retain any cadre. Instead, we formed a workers temporary leadership body comprising the old, the middle-aged and the young to handle daily work. During the period when workers managed themselves, both revolution and production at all workshops fared quite well.

Pretending to show concern for production, Teng Hsiao-p'ing peddled the reactionary theory of productive forces, saying "Let's stop criticizing the theory of productive forces. If we criticize it now, production won't go up!" We criticized his theory that class struggle is dying out and his fallacy that "reliance on workers, peasants and soldiers is relative," and gained a better understanding of the reactionary essence of his theory of productive forces. It was shown that since Teng Hsiao-p'ing opposed the struggle of the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and opposed reliance on the workers, his profession of concern for production could only be false. In fact, he wanted to undermine production. His sinister intent was to turn a socialist enterprise into a capitalist one. The difference between us and Teng Hsiao-p'ing is not whether to increase production but whether to promote socialist or capitalist production.

In the course of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's theory of productive forces, we reviewed the tremendous changes our plant had gone through before and after the great cultural revolution. This made the line of distinction between the theory of productive forces and the principle of grasping revolution and promoting production still clearer. Before the cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing trumpeted the theory of productive forces and spread the fallacy that "it doesn't matter whether the cat is black or white so long as it catches mice." In those days, this stuff was peddled in our plant. It didn't matter what kind of people were put in charge, so long as the tasks were fulfilled, it was fine; otherwise, it was bad. Material incentives were practiced on a wide scale, and profit was put in command. A variety of bonuses was given. The workers' thinking was corrupted and poisoned. Capitalist ideas held sway. Socialist enthusiasm was dampened, and production developed slowly. All this is still fresh in the memory of the old workers in the plant. Since the beginning of the cultural revolution, we have persistently taken class struggle as the key link, relied on the workers, grasped ideology and line, and used revolution to command production. As a result, production rose sharply. The output of the 8 years since the start of the cultural revolution was 8.4 times that of the 8 years preceding it. Particularly in recent years, new breakthrough has been achieved every year. In 1975, 92,000 sewing machines were produced, an output 2½ times the total output of the 8 years before the cultural revolution. A comparison between past and present made it clear that two different lines produce two kinds of different results. As our comrades say, whether we grasp revolution and promote production or push the theory of productive forces depends on three things. One, what takes command? Two, where does one work? And three, what's on one's mind? In production, we must take class struggle as the key link, put proletarian politics in command, wholeheartedly rely on the workers, and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat down to the grassroots level. In this way, production will certainly go up; otherwise, it will be affected and even led astray.

With the line clearly drawn through the criticism of Teng, the cadres and masses have displayed higher and higher enthusiasm for socialism. Since the beginning of this year, we have grasped criticism of Teng and the struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts as a matter of first order, put revolution in command of production, and brought into full play all positive factors. Some concrete problems in production have been solved more satisfactorily. This attests to the potency of criticizing the bourgeoisie and revisionism. At first, some comrades were worried that the impact of the struggle against the Right deviationist wind might affect production. Facts speak for themselves. In the first 4 months of this year, our factory overfulfilled all of the monthly targets. The 4-month output rose 35.5 percent over the same period of 1975. The quality of our products has also improved noticeably. We achieved an all-time high in 8 major economic indexes. During the battle of grasping revolution and promoting production, many good people and good deeds have appeared endlessly. As everyone says, criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulsing the Right deviationist wind boosted our jeal for revolution and production as never before! Where does this zeal come from? We depend not on "control, checks and coercion" or material incentive but on grasping class struggle and putting proletarian politics in command. This in itself is a forceful criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line.

As we look back over several months of struggle, we now see how extremely important it is to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We will continue to display the proletarian revolutionary spirit, firmly adhere to the general orientation of struggle, concentrate on criticizing Teng in light of realities, persist in grasping revolution and promoting production, defend the gains of the great proletarian cultural revolution and Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line with concrete action, and strive for still greater victories in our struggle against the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts.

* * *

Firmly Bear in Mind What the Great Cultural Revolution Has Taught Us

- efuting the idea of "forgetting everything"

by

Chi Yen (紀 岩)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

Ten years have elapsed since the great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated and led by the great leader Chairman Mao. These are ten years in which the whole Party and the people of the whole country have continuously advanced in the teeth of the storm of class struggle, ten years in which vast numbers of cadres have received profound education in class and line struggles and undergone tremendous changes in their mentality.

Chairman Mao points out: "What is the great cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." The great cultural revolution is a profound education to the cadres on class and line struggles. In ten years, we have waged three major struggles with Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. These struggles vividly demonstrate how sharp and violent the struggle between the two major opposing classes, the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, has been! Not only does the bourgeoisie exist in society, but the bourgeoisie is right in the Party and its main political representatives are also in the Party. With the deepening of the socialist revolution, the bourgeoisie within the Party has become the main force of the bourgeoisie in contesting with the proletariat. Because the bourgeois elements within the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing command great power and can push a counter-revolutionary revisionist line from top to bottom, they are more frenzied in restoring capitalism than capitalists. We will see clearly that these bourgeois elements in the Party have indeed tried desperately to restore the old order if only we recall how Liu Shao-ch'i wildly claimed that capitalist "exploitation is a merit," slashed the cooperatives, promoted san-tzu-i-pao, and exercised dictatorship over the proletariat in the realm of the superstructure, especially in the ideological and cultural departments, encircling and suppressing revolutionaries; if we recall how Lin Piao cursed our socialist system of proletarian dictatorship and went to the length of plotting a counter-revolutionary armed coup d'etat; and if we look at how Teng Hsiao-p'ing cried aloud that he is unafraid of joining the "home-going contingent" and wielded the big baton of "rectification" in an attempt to get rid of all the fruits of the great cultural revolution. Not only could they say what capitalists wanted but dared not say openly, but they could also do what capitalists wanted but could not do. If their plots came through, capitalism would be restored all round and the whole of China would change color. Chairman Mao pointed out long ago: "The current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely in consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism." If, at the early stages of the great cultural revolution, some of our comrades did not quite understand this great revolution, then after ten years of practice in struggle and after repeated education by both positive and negative

example, we should have acquired a far deeper understanding of Chairman Mao's important instructions and the necessity of the great cultural revolution.

However, the arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing attempted to make people "forget" the great cultural revolution and "forget" the profound education received in this revolution. He alleged: "Let us forget all those problems in the great cultural revolution. Don't think about them, and don't mention them." These sinister remarks show his hideous features as a man who seeks to reverse verdicts and settle the old scores, his deepseated hatred for the great cultural revolution.

What are "those problems" that Teng Hsiao-p'ing wanted people to "forget," problems that "should not be thought of or mentioned"? Don't they concern the violent struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines? Hasn't this struggle given us profound education? Here he posed for us a question: What attitude should we take toward the great cultural revolution?

In the great cultural revolution, we shattered the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and smashed their plots for capitalist restoration, thus averting the repetition in our country of the tragedy of the Soviet Union turning revisionist and insuring our country's continuous march along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. This is a great merit of the great cultural revolution. From Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, these teachers by negative example, the vast numbers of cadres have seen the danger of the bourgeoisie within the Party subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and the importance of persistently combating and preventing revisionism. Can we "forget" all of this?

In the great cultural revolution, we criticized the counter-revolutionary revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, the theory of the dying out of class struggle, the theory of productive forces, the sinister "self-cultivation," idealist transcendantalism, the doctrine of trailing behind at a snail's pace, and the slavish comprador philosophy advocated by them. We launched in the whole Party and in the whole country an extremely extensive and intensive "education in ideology and political line," thereby considerably raising the enthusiasm of the cadres in studying Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, their consciousness of persisting in taking class struggle as the key link and adhering to the Party's basic line, their ability to recognize and resist the revisionist line, and their awareness of the need to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Should we "stop thinking" of all this?

In this soul-stirring great revolution, we criticized the bourgeois world outlook of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and their crimes in corrupting people's souls with such reactionary landlord and bourgeois ideas as "join the Party to become an official" and "office--emolument--favor" and instigating people to take the capitalist road. This gave a strong boost to the revolutionization of people's thinking and the transformation of their world outlook. The cadres have strengthened their ties with the masses by taking the "May 7" road charted by Chairman Mao and receiving re-education from the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants. Many comrades have consciously

restricted bourgeois rights and led the way in becoming promoters of narrowing the three major differences. Should we "not mention" this at all?

The great cultural revolution is a great practice in arousing millions and millions of people to combat and prevent revisionism. As Chairman Mao has pointed out, "This movement is quite vast in scale and has really set the masses in motion." It is precisely this spectacular mass movement that has made it possible to crush revisionism; it is precisely the struggle of the masses that has caused the instant disintegration and collapse of the baston of the stubborn bourgeoisie. For millions upon millions of people to rise up to expose and criticize the Party persons taking the capitalist road, criticize their revisionist line and criticize and help those cadres who have made mistake is an important mark of heightened mass consciousness of class and line struggles and an important guarantee for combating and preventing revisionism. Criticism and help from the masses have educated and saved a large number of errant cadres and enabled them to return to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line. As some cadres say: "In the past, we sank into the revisionist quagmire from which we could not extricate ourselves. With the help of the revolutionary masses, we pulled ourselves out and started a new life." All these fully demonstrated the might of the mass movement and the profound educational effect of the great cultural revolution on the guilty cadres. Obviously, this also should never be forgotten.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy of "forgetting everything" has an extremely wicked purpose behind it. This is to encourage those cadres who made mistakes and were criticized by the masses before to act like he does--to "forget" the education and help given by the great cultural revolution, to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution and to settle accounts with it. His conspiracy of pulling people into the water went totally bankrupt like his entire counter-revolutionary revisionist line. But this conspiracy has given us great education by negative example. For what he wants us to "forget" is exactly what we must firmly remember, and what he wants us "not to mention" and "not to think of" is exactly what we must constantly mention and think of. Here a lesson must be drawn by both old and young cadres, including those who made the mistakes of capitalist roaders.

Our old cadres had generally been tempered and tested in war and revolutionary mass movements during the period of democratic revolution and had the experience of fighting against the three arch enemies--imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. This is something precious. But in the socialist period, the principal contradiction in society has changed, and so has the nature of revolution. The need arises to pass the test of socialism, making one's thinking keep pace with the development of the revolutionary situation and the march of the socialist revolution. Chairman Mao points out: "After the democratic revolution the workers and the poor and lower-middle peasants did not stand still, they want revolution. On the other hand, a number of Party members do not want to go forward; some have moved backward and opposed the revolution. Why? Because they have become high officials and want to protect the interests of the high officials." Here, Chairman Mao profoundly points out the danger of remaining in the stage of democratic revolution ideologically. This is both a teaching and a spur full of meaning to our cadres, especially old ones. Old cadres must firmly bear in mind the education they received in the great cultural revolution, strive to arm themselves with Chairman Mao's theory of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, consciously

transform their world outlook and consciously restrict bourgeois rights. Only thus can they continue to advance with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants and forever maintain their revolutionary youthfulness.

The great majority of our young cadres have been tempered and matured in the great cultural revolution; they are full of vigor and vitality. But now that they have taken leadership posts and their position has changed, they must make strict demands on themselves, strive to study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and seriously transform their world outlook before they can persist in continuing the revolution. They must constantly think of the education they received in the great cultural revolution and the twists and turns they had undergone, see the protracted and complicated nature of class and line struggles, and carry forward the revolutionary spirit of daring to fight against the capitalist roaders within the Party and their revisionist line. We must take warning from the mistakes others made and benefit by their experiences and lessons, overcome the corruption and influence of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, and forever maintain a high revolutionary fighting spirit.

The great majority of cadres who made the mistakes of capitalist roaders have returned to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and striven to work for the Party and the people. This is an important achievement of the great cultural revolution. While Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants to get rid of this achievement through "rectification," we must further consolidate and develop it. Those cadres who previously committed mistakes must seriously bear in mind the education they received in the great cultural revolution, benefit by the experience and lessons on the fundamental problem of class and line struggles, and raise their consciousness of implementing Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. They must correctly deal with the criticism levelled at them during the great cultural revolution. Criticism by the masses embraces not only hatred for the revisionist line but also loving care and assistance to cadres. In the case of those who are seriously ill in a political or ideological sense, as Chairman Mao once said, "The first thing to do in this reasoning process is to give the patient a good shake-up by shouting at him, 'You are ill!' so as to administer a shock and make him break out in a sweat, and then to give him sincere advice on getting treatment." ("Oppose Stereotyped Party Writing") Was this not exactly the case with the mass criticism of guilty cadres during the great cultural revolution? Wasn't this good "shake-up" that enabled many comrades to wake up from many years of slumber? All our comrades must take a correct attitude toward the great cultural revolution, toward the masses and toward themselves. There is a greater need for comrades who made mistakes before to do so. They should not bear a grudge because they have received some criticism and stand on the side opposite the masses and denounce them. Nor should they see only the side issues and not the main current and lose their sense of direction.

The struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, which is presently developing, is a continuation and deepening of the great cultural revolution. It has given us another profound education and tempering in combating and preventing revisionism. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has fallen, but the struggle has not ended. We must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's important directives on the great proletarian cultural revolution and on beating back the Right

deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. We must criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing in depth, carry through to the end the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and, through this great struggle, further raise our consciousness in combating and preventing revisionism and continuing the revolution.

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There Is Absolutely No Question of Equality with the Bourgeoisie

by

K'ang Li (康立)

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

In the new upsurge of criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing, repulsing the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts and tracking down the counter-revolutionaries, we greet the tenth anniversary of the May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the CCP Central Committee. In these ten years the great proletarian cultural revolution has won great victories, a decade of continuously consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat in the fierce struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines.

The "Circular" was drawn up under the personal guidance of our great leader Chairman Mao. It is a great program of the great proletarian cultural revolution, a powerful ideological weapon for defeating the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. In this brilliant document, Chairman Mao points out: "The proletariat's struggle against the bourgeoisie, its exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and in the superstructure including various spheres of culture and its continued efforts to eliminate the representatives of the bourgeoisie who sneaked into the Communist Party to wave a red flag to oppose the red flag--on these fundamental issues, is it permissible to speak of equality? For several decades the old social democracy and for more than ten years modern revisionism have never permitted the proletariat to have any equality with the bourgeoisie. They basically deny that the centuries-old history of mankind is a history of class struggle, basically deny the class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie, and basically deny the proletarian revolution against the bourgeoisie and the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. On the contrary, they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists. Together with the bourgeoisie and the imperialists, they cling to the ideological system of bourgeois oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and the capitalist social system, and they oppose the Marxist-Leninist ideological system and the socialist social system. They are a bunch of anti-communist and anti-people counter-revolutionaries. Their struggle against us is one of life and death, and there is no question of equality. Therefore, our struggle against them, too, can be nothing but a life-and-death struggle. Our relationship with them is not one of equality but the relationship of one class oppressing another, that is, the relationship of the proletariat exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. This precludes any other relationship, such as equal relations and peaceful coexistence between the exploited and the exploiting classes, the relations of benevolence, righteousness and virtue, and so forth." Here Chairman Mao penetratingly criticized the reactionary fallacy preached by Liu Shao-ch'i, Teng Hsiao-p'ing and P'eng Chen that "everybody is equal before the truth." He explained the necessity of exercising dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and of drawing a line of

distinction between Marxism and revisionism. This is of immense importance to our persistent efforts to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat and carry the struggle to combat and prevent revisionism to its completion.

The proletariat and the bourgeoisie are two diametrically opposed classes, with one exercising dictatorship over the other. Under the capitalist system the bourgeoisie controls the state apparatus and the means of production, exploiting and oppressing the proletariat and enforcing dictatorship over that class with no question of equality. After the proletariat overthrew the landlord and bourgeois classes and seized political power, the class relations have undergone radical changes, with the proletariat which has been subjected to prolonged oppression and exploitation rising to become the ruling class and the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes becoming the ruled. Under the proletarian dictatorship, all the overthrown reactionary classes naturally find the going tough. From political, economic, ideological and cultural spheres, they invariably seek to resist the socialist revolution and vainly try to regain their lost "paradise." In order to radically alter the unequal relations of the bourgeoisie oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and prevent capitalist restoration, it is necessary to exercise dictatorship over the bourgeoisie and there is absolutely no question of sharing equality with them, to begin with.

"Between the exploiters and the exploited equality is impossible." ("The Proletarian Revolution and the Renegade Kautsky," Selected Works of Lenin, Vol. III, p. 639) This truth has been proved by the history of struggles waged in the past thousands of years by the slaves against the slave owning class and by the peasants against the landlord class, as well as the history of struggles waged in the past hundreds of years by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie. The proletariat has always attributed the demands for equality to those for the elimination of classes. Although in socialist society the landlord and bourgeois classes have been overthrown, there are still classes and class struggle and bourgeois rights such as commodity production and exchange by means of money, and this has given rise to actual inequalities in the area of distribution. These inequalities can be completely eliminated only through the uprooting of classes, the elimination of the differences between town and country, industry and agriculture, and mental and manual labor left over from the old society, and the realization of communism. However, for several decades the old social democracy and modern revisionism have basically disavowed class struggle, proletarian revolution and proletarian dictatorship, doing their utmost to maintain the bourgeoisie's unequal relations with the proletariat. The myth of "freedom, equality and fraternity" preached by the renegade Kautsky pictures socialism as "equality" among all men including the exploiters and the exploited. The Soviet revisionist renegade clique also put this bourgeois slogan into the notorious program of the Soviet Communist Party. This is also true for representatives of the bourgeoisie in the Party like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing. As early as the democratic revolution period, they passed off the slogan "freedom, equality and fraternity" as the "common slogan" of the new democratic revolution led by our Party. During the socialist period they still adhered to the bourgeois concept of equality in a vain attempt to nullify the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie.

However, when Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk were chanting "Everybody is equal before the truth," they frenziedly pushed the reactionary bourgeois line, confused right with wrong and black with white, besieged the revolutionaries and imposed white terror. What they did fully proved that their "equality for everybody" was utterly hypocritical.

All new and old opportunists and revisionists are against allowing the proletariat to have any equality with the bourgeoisie, because they are faithful lackeys of the bourgeoisie and the imperialists and cling to the bourgeois ideological system of oppression and exploitation of the proletariat and to the capitalist social system. Stubbornly clinging to the reactionary stand of the bourgeoisie during the period of socialist revolution, chieftains of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing serve as the ringleaders of the forces for the restoration of capitalism. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "With the socialist revolution they themselves come under fine. At the time of the cooperative transformation of agriculture there were people in the Party who opposed it, and when it comes to criticizing bourgeois rights they resent it. You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." In the early stages following the founding of our country, Liu Shao-ch'i and his ilk put forth the bourgeois program of "consolidating the new democratic order," and preached the "four major freedoms" relating to land transactions and leases, labor hiring, lending and trading. Subsequently, they opposed the cooperative transformation of agriculture and the introduction of people's communes, openly calling for "the restoration of the system that prevailed before 1953," that is, restoration of the capitalist system of private ownership. If it is said that during the socialist transformation movement they largely sought to maintain the system of private ownership of the means of production, then after the capitalists were divested of the ownership of the means of production, they directed their efforts chiefly to strengthening and extending bourgeois rights. In the sense that bourgeois rights use formal equality to cover up actual inequalities, they are the lifeblood of both the new and old bourgeoisie and Party capitalist roaders in their struggles for survival. By safeguarding the interests of revisionist "high officials" and the bourgeoisie as a whole through strengthening bourgeois rights, and preserving the soil for restoring capitalism, the Party capitalist roaders vainly try to revive the exploiting system of man eating man.

In order to promote restoration and regression and subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat, Liu Shao-ch'i openly called for "friendship" between the proletariat and class enemies so as to keep their relations "warm." Teng Hsiao-p'ing alleged that "there was too much dictatorship in the past and there should be some relaxation from now on." Similar trash like the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of class cooperation apparently has been picked from the garbage bin of the old social democracy and modern revisionism. They use these reactionary fallacies to benumb the revolutionary people's will and ocver up the rabid attacks launched against socialism by the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a handful of class enemies.

Is "friendship" between the proletariat and the reactionaries possible? Certainly not. Lenin said rightly: "It would be impossible to defeat and uproot capitalism without relentlessly breaking the resistance of the exploiters." ("The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government," Complete Works of Lenin, Vol. 27, p. 242) Dictated by their own class character, that band of anti-communist and anti-people counter-revolutionary elements have never talked friendship with the proletariat and so it is logical for us not to talk equality with them, let alone relations of peaceful coexistence. To be gentle, temperate, kind, courteous and accommodating to the anti-communist and anti-popular counter-revolutionary elements is to be ruthless to the proletariat and the revolutionary people, that is, a despicable betrayal of the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Can the dictatorship of the proletariat be "relaxed"? No, it cannot. When there are still classes and class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat must be strengthened, not weakened. In dealing with the class enemies' restoration conspiracies, we must rely on the masses for their firm suppression. We must suppress all sorts of sabotage and subversive activities carried out by reactionaries both at home and abroad and put down all counter-revolutionary activities aimed at attacking our great leader Chairman Mao and splitting the Party Central Committee headed by Chairman Mao. We must track down the fabricators of counter-revolutionary political rumors and architects of counter-revolutionary activities, never giving class enemies freedom to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism.

In the 17 years prior to the great proletarian cultural revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and company never stopped the struggle waged by the bourgeoisie against the proletariat nor slackened their efforts to attack the proletariat. They frenziedly opposed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, pushed the counter-revolutionary revisionist line, and conspired to restore capitalism in a big way. They seized control of the Party, cultural and propaganda work, and local administration in many regions. In cultural and educational departments under their domination, capitalism and revisionism spread unchecked, monsters and demons ran amuck, and a bourgeois dictatorship prevailed. They promoted material incentives and put bonuses in command, with the result that in a fairly large majority of factories leadership was not in the hands of real Marxists and the worker masses. Comrades, please think: if they were allowed to carry out that line, it would not have taken very long before a countrywide counter-revolutionary restoration would inevitably appear, the proletarian dictatorship would give way to a bourgeois dictatorship, and the unequal relations of the bourgeoisie oppressing and exploiting the proletariat would be restored all round.

Since representatives of the bourgeoisie who sneaked into the Communist Party have never allowed the proletariat to have any equality with the bourgeoisie, our struggle against them can only be one of life and death and our relationship with them is definitely not one of equality and peaceful co-existence, but the relationship of one class oppressing another. We are making the socialist revolution and upholding the dictatorship of the proletariat for the explicit purpose of completely eliminating the bourgeois ideological system of oppressing and exploiting the proletariat and the capitalist social system while establishing and developing the Marxist-Leninist ideological system and the socialist social system.
Since liberation, successive socialist revolution movements led

by our Party, from the socialist transformation of the ownership of the means of production to the criticism of the bourgeoisie in the ideological and cultural spheres and from the anti-Rightist struggle to the socialist education movement, were all for one purpose: consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. The great proletarian cultural revolution personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao continued to clean out bourgeois representatives who sneaked into the Party to wave the red flag to oppose the red flag, to seize power from a handful of persons in power taking the capitalist road, and to further strengthen the exercise of all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Thus, a great political revolution, led by Chairman Mao, engulfed the whole country with the crushing force of a hurricane and saw the proletariat rising in opposition to the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes. The revolutionary masses numbering hundreds of millions bombarded the handful of renegades, secret agents and unrepentant capitalist roaders, smashing the bourgeois headquarters commanded by Liu Shao-ch'i. Subsequently, they crushed the Lin Piao anti-Party clique and foiled their vain sinister attempt to turn the proletarian dictatorship into a bourgeois dictatorship. Practice proves that the great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socilaism.

The great proletarian cultural revolution has won great victories, but the struggle is by no means over. The defeated classes will still struggle and the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road. Although Teng Hsiao-p'ing vowed he "will never reverse the verdict" after he was criticized, he revealed his vicious features once he resumed work. Vindictively counter-attacking the proletariat, he dished out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" in an attempt to reverse the verdicts of and settle old scores with the great cultural revolution. His program, being a continuation and development of the reactionary "February Outline Report," is in essence aimed at opposing taking class struggle as the key link, opposing the Party's basic line, and opposing continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. According to this black program, Teng Hsiao-p'ing proposed "all-round readjustment," a policy of readjustment encompassing industry, agriculture, science and technology, culture and education, and even the Party. Thus, from the economic base to the super-structure, from local to central authorities and from inside the Party to outside the Party, he laid a huge dragnet to nullify the victorious fruits gained since our country was founded more than 20 years ago, particularly those gained since the great cultural revolution was started, and to abolish the proletarian dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. How sinister his motives are!

The counter-revolutionary political incident that occurred at Tienanmen Square has fully revealed the ruthlessness of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a handful of class enemies toward the proletariat. It has also given the lie to Teng Hsiao-p'ing's assertion that "everybody is equal," showing it to be deceitful, hypocritical and reactionary in nature. Teng Hsiao-p'ing has consistently cherished the bourgeoisie but resented the proletariat. Giving vent to the grievances of that bunch of renegades, traitors, careerists and conspirators denied freedom to oppose the Party and the people, he insisted on getting rid of those revolutionary cadres who adhered to the proletarian revolutionary line and never for a

moment was he not ready to "expel" revolutionary rebels. How clear-cut his love and hatred ! With Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the general backstage boss, the bourgeoisie will never cherish the proletarat. Nor will the proletariat cherish the bourgeoisie. As long as the possibilities of class oppression and class exploitation have not completely disappeared from the world, there is no such thing as equality and "fraternity" transcending class boundaries.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing's attempt to reverse verdicts goes against the will of the people. The vast numbers of workers, poor and lower-middle peasants and other toiling people want revolution and uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat until the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes are eliminated and the great ideals of communism are realized. In reversing verdicts and clinging to the social system of capitalist oppression and exploitation of the proletariat, Teng Hsiao-p'ing pitted himself against the interests of the revolutionary people. Teng Hsiao-p'ing "has become a high official and wants to protect the interests of the high officials" and to oppress the people, and naturally the masses of the people want to make revolution against him. Therefore, he is utterly isolated. He vainly tried to swallow up the proletarian dictatorship at one gulp, but the result is that he knocked his head against the dictatorship of the proletariat and suffered an ignominimous defeat.

In reviewing the history of struggle waged by the whole Party and the people of the whole country under Chairman Mao's leadership against the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party over the last more than 20 years since our country was founded, particularly since the great proletarian cultural revolution started, we can clearly see that class struggle in the socialist period boils down to a life-and-death struggle, with the proletariat determined to consolidate its dictatorship and the bourgeoisie wanting to overthrow it. Chairman Mao has pointed out: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Can 800 million people manage without struggle?!" Only by persisting in combating revisionism and struggling against the bourgeoisie and the chieftains of the revisionist line like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing can our Party and our state thrive and the masses of people continuously raise their awareness of class and line struggles, and only then can the dictatorship of the proletariat be further consolidated. Even ten thousand years from now, there will be contradictions, struggle and revolution.

After a fierce big battle between the two classes, two roads and two lines, Teng Hsiao-p'ing has finally fallen, but the task of criticizing Teng still remains arduous. We should seriously study and grasp the theory, line, principles and policies of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat expounded by Chairman Mao in the "Circular" and the latest series of his instructions. Led by Chairman Mao and the Party Central Committee, we must persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, carry the struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts to its completion, and win still greater victories.

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The Great Cultural Revolution and Industrial Development*

by

Hsiang Chi-wei (何紀伟)

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The decade since the great cultural revolution was started is one that has seen momentous changes on China's industrial front. In the ten years, our socialist industry has developed substantially. The industrial and communications front, like other fronts, is thriving, with "Orioles singing and swallows swirling." "The Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" has been better implemented than ever, the mass movement "in industry, learn from Tach'ing" is in vigorous development, the Party's basic line has won warm support among the people, and new socialist things have emerged in great number. Undertaking responsibilities as masters of the state, the working class is studying revolutionary theory, stressing the question of political line and other issues of major importance. A large number of big modern enterprises have been completed, and medium and small ones have mushroomed in cities and rural areas across the country. In terms of speed, the industrial development over the past decade has far exceeded that of the previous 17 years. It is convincing proof that "the great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country."

"Without struggle, there is no progress." This is a Marxist-Leninist truth. Without the great cultural revolution, a great, penetrating class struggle, the present prosperity on the industrial and communications front would not have come about at all. Tempered in the great cultural revolution, the working class and the revolutionary people warmly hail the historical merit of the great cultural revolution and laud its role in bringing about vast changes to the industrial and communications front. By constrast, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, is extremely fearful and resentful of this. Representing the interests of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party, he fanned up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts on a wide scale. In blatant disregard for truth, he painted a gloomy picture of the excellent situation of the industrial and transport front since the great cultural revolution was started, and yelled: "The present is not as good as the past." This fully reveals his true features as a man who is hostile to the great cultural revolution and tries to reverse the verdicts and restore the old order.

Why is the great cultural revolution able to bring about such tremendous changes in industry and communications? Why does Teng Hsiao-p'ing want to obliterate and oppose such changes? Basically, it is because the great cultural revolution is a class struggle waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, a great political revolution with the bourgeoisie within the Party as its main target. This great struggle will further settle the question of which class is to hold

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power, which line is to be implemented and which road is to be taken in the field of industry and communications. It is true that China's industry underwent a revolution concerning ownership before the cultural revolution. However, because Liu Shao-ch'i and company imposed a revisionist line on industry and communications, using material incentives and putting profit in command to lead people onto the capitalist road, the power of leadership was not in the hands of genuine Marxists, not in the hands of the workers in a fairly great majority of the factories and enterprises. China's socialist economic base was not yet consolidated, and revisionist and capitalist practices damped down the socialist enthusiasm of the masses and obstructed industrial development. In the cultural revolution, the two bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao as their respective chieftains were smashed, their revisionist lines repudiated. The masses of workers, in light of the actual conditions in industry and communications, unfolded criticism and struggle and seized back a portion of power usurped by the capitalist roaders. As on other fronts, leadership bodies comprising the old, the middle-aged and the young have been established universally in factories and enterprises and a large number of new forces who came to the fore in the cultural revolution have been elected to leading posts at various levels in accordance with Chairman Mao's five criteria for successors to the revolutionary cause. Tempered in the cultural revolution, most veteran cadres have adhered to the correct ideological and political line and are filled with revolutionary vigor. The workers have heightened their awareness of the struggle between the two classes and between the two lines and raised their ability to distinguish between genuine and sham Marxism in the course of struggle. In the superstructure and the relations of production, the capitalist practices have been hard hit and new socialist things have made fast progress. All these are conducive to consolidating and strengthening the proletarian leadership and a fast industrial development along Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line. Teng Hsiao-ping wants to negate the excellent situation in industry and communications since the beginning of the great cultural revolution because he wants to negate the great cultural revolution, negate the struggle and criticism of the proletariat and revolutionary people against the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders inside the Party, promote the revisionist line, and take the capitalist road.

The experience of the great cultural revolution tells us that only by relying on the working class in persisting in struggle against the bourgeoisie in the Party and penetratingly criticizing the revisionist line can we make sure that the leadership of factories and enterprises is in the hands of true Marxists and the masses of workers, that we will adhere to the socialist road, build a strong socialist industry, and lay a solid material foundation for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao points out: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The appearance in succession of bourgeois representatives like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing is proof that "the capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road," a phenomenon that will exist for a long time during the socialist period. The main contradiction on the industry and communications front is likewise the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. If an enterprise does not carry out the Party's basic line, take class struggle as the key link, criticize revisionism

and struggle against the bourgeoisie and capitalist roaders inside the Party, its leadership will fall into the hands of the bourgeoisie, the capitalist roaders will seek to alter the socialist character of the enterprise through altering the line and restore capitalism. In the Soviet Union, didn't the Khrushchev and Brezhnev renegade cliques usurp the Party and state leadership, impose a revisionist line from the top, and restore capitalism all round? Before the great cultural revolution in our country, didn't Liu Shao-ch'i and company impose a revisionist line and change the character of a number of our enterprises? In his desire to reverse the verdicts of the great cultural revolution, revive the practices of putting profit in command and material incentives in factories and enterprises, and restore the sinister revisionist stuff that had been criticized during the cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants not so much as to change the character of socialist ownership and turn socialist industry into a basis for them to restore capitalism.

Chairman Mao says: "Class struggle is the key link and everything else hinges on it." By grasping the principal contradiction, that is, the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, and persevering in the struggle against the bourgeoisie inside the Party and the revisionist line, we can liberate and develop the productive forces. The question of what orientation to follow, what road to take, and what line to implement is considered in every productive activity of an enterprises, from the formulation of production and construction plans, the solution of problems involving raw materials, equipment and technology and sales of products to enterprise management. Since the start of the cultural revolution, many enterprises, through criticizing the theory of productive forces and the theory of the dying out of class struggle, have raised their consciousness of taking class struggle as the key link in solving all problems of the enterprise, including those of production and technology. An upsurge in revolution and production has been brought about. This is in sharp contrast to the pre-cultural revolution days when class struggle was neglected and attention was paid exclusively to production, which resulted in the loss of political bearing and deterioration of production. Facts convincingly refute Teng Hsiao-p'ing's fallacy that criticism of the theory of productive forces hinders the development of production. Both positive and negative experiences have repeatedly proved that only by taking class struggle as the key link, persisting in putting proletarian politics in command of the economy and using revolution to promote production can the relations both within enterprises and between them be correctly handled, various contradictions arising in the course of production be resolved, the socialist relations of production perfected, socialist enthusiasm of the masses aroused, and greater, faster, better and more economical results in building industry along socialist lines guaranteed.

The cultural revolution is a tremendous revolutionary struggle waged by hundreds of millions of people under the leadership of the working class. In this struggle, our Party has made known its line and policies to the working class and other people, "to arouse the broad masses to expose our dark aspect openly, in an all-round way and from below," to wage a tit-for-tat struggle against bourgeois representatives like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and criticize their revisionist lines. In this way, the socialist enthusiasm latent in the masses has been brought out to an unprecedented degree. Through the struggle the masses have become more aware of the need for continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the

proletariat, have taken an active part in leading and managing the enterprises, have persisted in marching along the socialist road, and have played greater roles in leading work and supervision. This is a great change in industry and communications brought about by the cultural revolution.

Since the start of the cultural revolution and under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, many factories and enterprises have accumulated a whole range of fresh experience in relying on the masses to run enterprises during the implementation of "the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company." Many revolutionary innovations have emerged as a result. For example: workers remain at production work while joining leading bodies and taking a direct part in leading and managerial work; cadres and technicians do productive labor; workers form theoretical groups, investigation groups and advisory groups; through big-character posters and wallpaper commentaries, workers take part in criticizing and supervising the leadership for shortcomings in implementing the line and policies; the setting up of a mass management network in which the workers take a direct part in running the enterprises and deciding on questions of production, planning and technology; and the setting up of "July 21" workers' colleges on the Shanghai Machine Tools Plant model to train worker technicians. All these have played an important role in carrying out the Party's basic line, in restricting bourgeois rights, in readjusting and improving the relations between the leadership and the masses, between technicians and workers, in maintaining and strengthening the workers' position as masters, and in developing industrial production with greater, faster, better and more economical results.

Before the cultural revolution, the revisionist line pursued by Liu Shao-ch'i and company denied that the working class was masters of the country and of the enterprises. They had no faith in the masses, did not rely on them and tap their great creative powers. They opposed "the Charter of the Anshan Iron and Steel Company" and propagated the "Rules and Regulations of the Magnitogorsk Iron and Steel Combine of the Soviet Union." They advocated "one person in command, and chief engineer, chief accountant, chief designer and chief technician in overall charge," "the experts set the rules which are to be executed by technicians and obeyed by the workers," and the "control, check and suppression" of the workers. During the cultural revolution, this revisionist line has been denounced, and many enterprises have undergone great changes with the movement to study the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticize and denounce the ideology of bourgeois rights. The cadres have gone among the masses to join them in class struggle, production, study, criticism and work, to consult them in solving problems, sum up their advanced experience, receive their supervision, and maintain close ites with them. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, who has always opposed the masses, naturally is unhappy about these changes. Silent about the mass movement, about workers being masters of enterprises and about the great historical mission of the working class, he goes to the length of vilifying the act of making workers masters of the house as "desruptive," saying such nonsense as "a longstanding habit is difficult to correct." This exactly proves by negative example that the great cultural revolution is absolutely necessary. With the masses aroused, Teng Hsiao-p'ing can only get himself battered and bruised in attempting to restore the revisionist line that prevailed before the great cultural revolution.

Chairman Mao has always favored giving play to initiative from central and local sources. He says: "It is far better for the initiative to come from two sources than from only one." "Let the localities undertake more work under unified central planning." Chairman Mao's policy of "walking on two legs"--simultaneous development of national and local industries, of big, medium and small enterprises, using modern and indigenous methods of production--was established on the basis of having faith in the masses and relying on their initiative. But Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing strongly opposed this correct policy set by Chairman Mao. They peddled a slavish comprador philosophy and practiced direct and exclusive control of enterprises by the ministries concerned, thereby repressing the local and mass initiative in running industry. In their view, the development of China's industry could not be accomplished without foreigners, foreign equipment and foreign methods, and should be done in a big, modernized and comprehensive way instead of using indigenous methods by many small enterprises. They ignored the wisdom and strength of the working people. The cultural revolution criticized the revisionist lines and emancipated people's minds, and Chairman Mao's directive on the two initiatives has been carried out with better results. A high tide of industrial development has been touched off by the masses under unified central planning and the centralized leadership of the Party committees at various levels. Industries are now run by provinces, prefectures, counties, people's communes or production brigades, depending on local conditions. Many things which in the past were considered impossible are now possible. Many things considered impossible without foreign equipment have been done very well by the masses in the spirit of self-reliance. For example, the growth of the chemical fertilizer and electric power industries was slow when planning was being done from above and when schemes were exclusively for big, modern plants. These shackles were thrown off in the cultural revolution. After breaking down the barriers between trades and organizing cooperation between factories, small chemical works and small hydropower stations have developed in large numbers. By comparing the present with pre-cultural revolution days, cadres and masses in many places can clearly see the harm done by the slavish comprador philosophy and by practicing direct and exclusive central control. They realize that the rapid expansion of China's socialist industry can only be achieved through arousing the enthusiasm of the people, adhering to the policy of "walking on two legs," maintaining independence and self-reliance, and proceeding along China's own road of industrial development.

In the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must conscientiously study Chairman Mao's series of important instructions, and penetratingly criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line and program and the whole set of revisionist fallacies he spread on the industrial and transport front. We must use Chairman Mao's instructions as our weapon, conscientiously sum up the new experiences gained in industrial development and construction since the start of the great cultural revolution, consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution, and push China's industry forward continuously in broad strides along the socialist road!

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Ten Years of Rapid Development in Socialist Agriculture*

by

Chao Feng-nien (赵丰年)

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The great proletarian cultural revolution initiated and led by Chairman Mao has gone through ten brilliant years. During these ten years on the agricultural front, the Chinese countryside has undergone profound changes from the superstructure to the economic base, the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has advanced victoriously, and rapid progress has been made in China's socialist agriculture.

The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great practice of continuing the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Through this vigorous mass movement, the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao were crushed, their plots of restoring capitalism smashed, and their counter-revolutionary revisionist lines repudiated. With all the dirt of the old world washed away, tremendous changes have taken place in the Chinese countryside. In this great revolution, the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants are using Mao Tsetung thought as their weapon in their criticism of revisionism and the bourgeoisie and, in their capacity as political masters, have mounted the stage to make revolution in the superstructure. Vast numbers of cadres have been educated and tempered, with the veterans regaining their revolutionary vigor and hosts of successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat growing sturdily. The poor and lower-middle peasants have further consolidated their predominant position in the countryside; they are running commercial undertakings, schools and cultural and medical institutions, thus fortifying all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. New socialist things have mushroomed and are thriving, breaking the narrow confines of bourgeois rights. The mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture has entered a new phase of building up Tachai-type counties all over the country.

Revolution has promoted the growth of production. The average annual increase in output of chemical fertilizers, farm tractors, irrigation and drainage equipment and electricity for rural consumption over this decade is anywhere between four and eight times what it was before the cultural revolution, and an average of over 20 million mow of new irrigated land has been added every year. Excellent consecutive harvests have been won by overcoming several major natural disasters. The collective economy has been steadily consolidated and strengthened, the people's commune has increasingly manifested its tremendous advantages as a new institution, and the state farms have been run with growing success. All this proves to the hilt that "the current great proletarian cultural revolution is absolutely necessary and most timely for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, preventing capitalist restoration and building socialism."

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Why has it been possible to effect such striking changes in the Chinese countryside during the cultural revolution? It is because, in the final analysis, this great revolution has enabled the cadres and masses to become more self-conscious in taking class struggle as the key link, keeping to the Party's basic line, sticking to the socialist road and continuously striving to make socialism prevail over capitalism.

Criticizing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, Chairman Mao pointed out: "What is the great proletarian cultural revolution for? To wage class struggle." This remark has generalized very clearly the very nature of this great revolution. After our country entered the phase of socialist revolution, the focus of the struggle between the two lines on the agricultural front has remained whether to persist in taking class struggle as the key link or to deny it as the key link, and whether to persist in taking the socialist road or the capitalist road. Essentially, this is a question of whether to uphold the dictatorship of the proletariat.
The great proletarian cultural revolution is a great political revolution carried out by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes; it is a most extensive and deep-going mass movement. It boldly mobilizes the masses from below to expose and criticize Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao and the revisionist line they pursued, thus enabling Chairman Mao's revolutionary line to go deeper into the people's minds. Through struggle-criticism-transformation, that portion of the leadership usurped by the capitalist roaders has been wrested back and placed in the hands of the Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants, and the socialist revolution in the superstructure is being unfolded on an unprecedented scale.
The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything. In the course of the great cultural revolution, the cadres and masses have greatly heightened their consciousness of class struggle and the struggle between the two lines, gradually acquired experience in the struggle against the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party, and thus seized greater initiative in class struggle and the struggle for production. Before the great cultural revolution, many rural cadres had experience in fighting against the landlords and dividing up their land; others had experience in struggling against the trend among certain well-to-do middle peasants of "withdrawing their horses and quitting the co-ops." However, these cadres lacked a clear understanding of the characteristics and laws of rural class struggle during the historical period of socialism. They too grasped class struggle, but they often failed to direct sufficient attention to the struggle between the two roads within the structure of the collective economy and that inside the Party. Some of them went so far as to follow Liu Shao-ch'i's revisionist line, indulging in such things as San Tzu I Pao / more private plots, more free markets, more enterprises with sole responsibility for their own profits and losses, and fixing output quotas on a household basis/ and "placing work points in command." Through investigation and study and the summing up of the experience and lessons from different areas and units in expanding agriculture in the cultural revolution, these cadres have come to the profound understanding that it won't do to run agriculture without grasping class struggle and that unless the capitalist road is blocked no progress can be made toward socialism. In the struggle against rural capitalism, it is essential not only to fight against the landlords, rich peasants, counter-revolutionaries and bad elements but also against the capitalist

tendencies within the structure of the collective economy, against the new bourgeois elements, and in particular against the main force for capitalist restoration--those Party persons in power taking the capitalist road.

The institution of the people's commune in China's rural areas has tremendous advantages and this even our enemies cannot deny. But the establishment of the people's communes has not seen the end of class struggle. Bourgeois rights still exist to varying extents in all aspects of the relations of production. Although individual peasants have turned themselves into collectivized peasants, some have yet to rid themselves of the influences of the old social conventions, and a sector of the well-to-do peasantry still shows strong capitalist tendencies. Affected and corrupted by bourgeois ideology, a sector of the Party membership and a sector of the cadre force may also take to the bourgeois style of life. Some of these people may even degenerate politically and turn into new bourgeois elements. Never for a single day has the struggle ceased over questions determining whether the socialist collective economy is to be consolidated and expanded or weakened and disintegrated; whether the collective economy is to be guided forward along the broad road of socialism or led astray onto the pernicious road of capitalism. What is different is that as the masses of peasants warmly love the socialist system and bitterly hate the capitalist system, more capitalist activities in the countryside are camouflaged by the "socialist" and "collective" cloaks. Such statements as "whatever you do is justified if it is for the collective" and "it is a Tachai road if you can make the collective rich" are aimed at preparing public opinion for capitalist activities under the signboard of "collective."

The road taken by the collective economy depends on the nature of the leadership and which line they follow. Chairman Mao says: "You are making the socialist revolution, and yet don't know where the bourgeoisie is. It is right in the Communist Party--those in power taking the capitalist road. The capitalist roaders are still on the capitalist road." The Party capitalist roaders in power are political representatives of the bourgeoisie. In order to turn their hopes of restoration into attempts at it, the overthrown class enemies often use the Party capitalist roaders as a protective umbrella, and to wreak havoc even pull them out or sneak them in in collusion with the bourgeoisie inside the Party. We may look back and find out who took the lead in advocating "four major freedoms" and opposing agricultural cooperativization, who called for San-tzu I-pao in a vain attempt to disintegrate the socialist collective economy, and who distorted Tachai's basic experience and undermined the mass movement to learn from Tachai in agriculture since the beginning of the phase of socialist revolution. Weren't they Party persons in power taking the capitalist road like Liu Shao-ch'i, Lin Piao and Teng Hsiao-p'ing? The arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party Teng Hsiao-p'ing viciously attacked the great cultural revolution, dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," opposed taking class struggle as the key link, and negated the Party's basic line and Tachai's basic experience in an attempt to revive the capitalist forces in the countryside and restore capitalism. This precisely shows that the bourgeoisie inside the Party is more ruthless in restoring capitalism than the bourgeoisie outside the Party. This is also true of the grassroots level. Where capitalism is spread unchecked, there are

problems of leadership, and where leadership is really in the hands of Marxists and the poor and lower-middle peasants, the evil wind of capitalism cannot prevail. One of the important achievements of the great proletarian cultural revolution has been the enhancement of the fighting strength of the basic rural Party organizations through struggle-criticism-transformation and the further implementation of the task of enforcing proletarian dictatorship at the grassroots. This is an important condition to guarantee large-scale growth in China's agriculture.

Chairman Mao says: "The basic contradictions in socialist society are still those between the relations of production and the productive forces and between the superstructure and the economic base." The great proletarian cultural revolution has given a tremendous impetus to the rural socialist revolution in the superstructure, including ideology. The broad masses have criticized revisionism and capitalism by airing their views freely, writing big-character posters and holding mass debates. They have destroyed the old ideas, old culture, old customs and old habits, and established new ideas, new culture, new customs and new habits. The results have been very fruitful. Evening political schools have been set up across the countryside, contingents formed of poor and lower-middle peasant activists in theoretical study, and the masses of peasants are studying the theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat and criticizing the sinister feudalist, capitalist and revisionist stuff, and at the same time remolding their world outlook. Radio rediffusion stations, libraries, blackboard bulletins and sparetime art propaganda troupes are appearing all over the land like blossoming mountain flowers. People see, hear and talk about new socialist heroes, deeds, ideas and mores, as socialism takes over one after another the ideological and cultural positions in the countryside. This has given a tremendous uplift to the socialist ways and benefits the growth of the collective economy. The rural economy at the commune and brigade levels has grown steadily during the cultural revolution, in many places by several or even a dozen times. The penetrating criticism of revisionism and capitalism has dealt still greater blows to the capitalist tendencies in the realm of distribution and exchange. Commune and brigade cadres have heightened their awareness of the need to persevere in collective productive labor. Leading cadres at and above the county level have made a point of working and joining in physical labor in the rural areas and thus carried forward the Party's glorious tradition--the practical and realistic style of work, the mass line, modesty and prudence and hard struggle--and enhanced the cadre-mass relationship. These changes in the superstructure and the relations of production are of far-reaching significance for narrowing the differences between town and country, between worker and peasant and between mental and manual labor and for restricting bourgeois rights.

Whether to restrict or extend bourgeois rights is an important aspect of the current struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines. To continue to deepen the socialist revolution in the superstructure and in the relations of production, we must strict bourgeois rights step by step. Why does the unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, Teng Hsiao-p'ing, fear and resent the study of the theory of proletarian dictatorship? An important reason is that bourgeois rights have been criticized. But this precisely tells us by negative example that restricting bourgeois rights gradually is advantageous to the proletariat

and disadvantageous to the bourgeoisie, and we must persevere in this struggle.

The great proletarian cultural revolution, by transforming those parts of the superstructure and the relations of production which were ill-adapted to the economic base and the development of the productive forces, has greatly fired the socialist enthusiasm of the poor and lower-middle peasants and other people. Prior to the great cultural revolution, some of our cadres toed Liu Shao-ch'i's line and failed to see the immense socialist enthusiasm latent among the masses. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, they saw the class consciousness of the poor and lower-middle peasants in daring to fight against revisionism and capitalism, their communist style of working selflessly and to benefit others and their heroic spirit of transforming mountains and rivers. They truly felt that the masses are the real heroes, and that difficulties can be surmounted and miracles created as long as we, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line, trust and rely on the masses. Many things that were beyond anyone's imagination prior to the great cultural revolution have been accomplished by the masses with their own hands. Many things that could not be done without state assistance have now been done by a commune or a brigade by relying on the masses and through self-reliance. Unified plans for comprehensive treatment of the mountains, waters, forests, farmland and roads within the circumference of a brigade, a commune or even a county have been drafted by combining immediate objectives with long-range goals in order to effect a fundamental change in the natural features of the motherland. Is it true that peasants, being "clodhoppers," can't master science and technology? Certainly not. Extensive mass agro-scientific experiments have been carried out, with well over 10 million commune members organized in a web of experimental centers at the county, commune, brigade and team levels and some 30 million mow of land set aside as test farms. Is it true that poor and lower-middle peasants cannot run industries? Certainly not. The small chemical fertilizer plants, power stations, iron and steel mills, cement works and farm machinery shops which draw on local resources and are run by the poor and lower-middle peasant are thriving across the length and breadth of China. Aided by the working class, these undertakings are causing rapid, sweeping changes in the backward features of the rural economy.

Chairman Mao says: "The great proletarian cultural revolution is a powerful motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." The current excellent situation on China's agricultural front has fully verified this statement by Chairman Mao. With the victorious advance of the great struggle to repulse the right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts, the situation in China's agriculture will certainly turn increasingly for the better. The masses of poor and lower-middle peasants will continue by concrete action to defend and develop the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution and hit back at the attack and slander against the great cultural revolution by the unrepentant capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing.

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Advance in the Course of Class Struggle

by

the CCP Tu-an Yao Autonomous County Committee

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

Ten years have elapsed since the great proletarian cultural revolution was initiated and led personally by the great leader Chairman Mao. Reviewing the practice of struggle in this priod and seeing the enormous changes that have taken place in Tu-an, we cannot help hailing: The great proletarian cultural revolution is just fine! Long live the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution!

Situated in northwest Kwangsi, Tu-an is inhabited by seven nationalities, namely, Yao, Chuang, Han, Miao, Hui, Mulao and Maonan. Stony hills abound in this county, as it is called "a land of a thousand hills." Most of its arable land is scattered in some 20,000 valleys surrounded by hills and flat like a frying pan, or is half way up the rock cliffs. "After a heavy rain, a thousand valleys are flooded; after a sunny period of three days, ten thousand hills are scorched"--this ballad is a true description of the barren hills and truculent streams in Tu-an in years gone by. Before the liberation, due to brutal oppression and exploitation by landlords, local bullies and reactionary ringleaders, the people of various nationalities led a miserable life by living in caves and feeding on bran and wild plants. Some places still used the slash-and-burn method and recorded things by wood engraving. After the liberation, under the wise leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, the people embarked on the broad road of socialism. However, before the great cultural revolution, because of the interference and sabotage by the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and company, the conditions of production did not improve quickly, and this county was known for its deficiency in grain. Since the beginning of the great cultural revolution, guided by Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, the people of various nationalities in the whole county penetratingly carried out the mass movement of "learning from Tachai in agriculture," and won one victory after another. The stony plots of land have now turned into terraced fields or "small man-made plains." In the valleys which were formerly ravaged by natural disasters in nine years out of ten, underground waterways have been dug and tunnels drilled through the hills, preliminarily changing the outlook of drought and waterlogging. As a result of the continuous improvement in production conditions, grain output has increased year after year, and the five trades, /agriculture, forestry, animal husbandry, side-occupations and fishery/ have flourished. Since 1968, the county has ceased to be deficient in grain and has had surplus grain. In 1975, its grain output rose by 1.3 times over 1965, and its total industrial output value by more than 4 times. Great developments have also been registered in communications, finance and trade, culture and education, science and technology, public health and other undertakings. This once poverty-stricken and desolate land has now become a new socialist mountainous area with growing prosperity.

How has Tu-an changed so much? In the view of cadres and masses of various nationalities in the county, this is a victorious result of the great cultural revolution, a result of perseveringly taking class struggle as the key link and adhering to the Party's basic line. "Without struggle, there is no progress." It is in the storm of class struggle that Tu-an has marched forward over the past decade.

The great cultural revolution is a class struggle, a great political revolution waged by the proletariat against the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, with the bourgeoisie in the Party as the main target. It destroyed the two bourgeois headquarters of Liu Shao-ch'i and Lin Piao, criticized their revisionist lines, smashed the restorationist conspiracies of the bourgeoisie within the Party and recaptured the portion of the Party and state leadership usurped by them. In unprecedented breadth and depth, it has scoured away the sludge of feudalism, capitalism and revisionism and transformed those parts of the superstructure which were unsuitable to the socialist economic base. Through this great revolution, the various spheres of the superstructure in Tu-an have taken on a new look. Leading bodies at various levels practice the three-in-one combination of the old, the middle-aged and the young. In all communes and brigades evening political schools have been established, the masses are studying the works of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao with ever surging enthusiasm, and the theoretical continqents of the poor and lower-middle peasants are growing in strenth day by day. Among the masses, singing revolutionary songs, telling revolutionary stories, performing revolutionary model plays, listening to broadcasts and carrying out spare-time sports activities have become common practices. One sees wall papers, blackboard posters, and special columns of revolutionary criticism everywhere. The revolution in education, in literature and art and in public health has developed flourishingly. The sturdy growth of new socialist things has brought about a lively political situation in Tu-an.

The profound changes in the spheres of the superstructure have educated us deeply. Before the great cultural revolution, a handful of class enemies vigorously disseminated bad folk songs, carried out feudal superstitious activities, propagated the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, fanned the capitalist evil winds to poison the people of various nationalities, and made a mess of the ideological and cultural fronts in the countryside. Why were this handful of class enemies so rampant? Why could the feudal, capitalist and revisionist trash spread everywhere? During the great cultural revolution, we saw clearly that the main reason was that for some time Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters controlled the Party power, the power in cultural and propaganda work and the administrative power of many localities. They provided a protective umbrella to the handful of class enemies peddling feudal, capitalist and revisionist goods. Before the great cultural revolution, influenced by the revisionist line pushed by Liu Shao-ch'i and company, the former county committed paid attention exclusively to production without concerning itself about politics and class struggle, and allowed the bourgeoisie to exercise dictatorship over the proletariat in many spheres of the superstructure. This gravely hindered the development of revolution and production in the county. This bitter lesson made us understand deeply that "we must never forget classes and class

struggle." While we must not forget class struggle in the economic field, we must all the more bear in mind class struggle in the superstructure, in the sphere of ideology. If we forget this, we will go astray.

Marxism holds that the economic base determines the superstructure, but the superstructure in turns reacts on the economic base and in given conditions plays the leading, decisive role. Only by firmly grasping the revolution in the superstructure and the ideological sphere, continuously wiping out the ideological influence of the bourgeoisie and all other exploiting classes, using Mao Tsetung Thought to occupy the ideological and cultural fronts and exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure including all cultural spheres, can we arouse the enthusiasm of the broad masses for socialism to the greatest possible extent, consolidate the socialist economic base and promote rapid development of the productive forces. Since the great cultural revolution and during the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture we often met the following problems. When we talk about transforming the hills and streams and improving the conditions of production, some people would say, "You have spoiled geomantic features and disturbed the God of Mountains. Disasters are bound to befall." When we talk about man's sure conquest of nature and reaping a bumper harvest by resisting natural disasters, some people would say, "Man proposes and God disposes." When we talk about making all-round development by taking grain as the key link, some people would say, "It is fine to have money in our hands, like bees attracted to flowers." And so on and so forth. The living facts of class struggle show that though defeated politically and expropriated economically, the landlord and bourgeois classes always do their utmost to use the old ideas to corrupt and poison the people, undermine the dictatorship of the proletariat and the socialist economic base. If we make no real effort to firmly grasp class struggle in the superstructure and the ideological sphere nor take the initiative to attack class enemies, it will be impossible to consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat or quicken the pace of socialist construction.

In the autumn of 1968, when the county was vigorously carrying out farmland capital construction, a handful of class enemies incited the masses to move to elsewhere by saying that "just as the flesh on a goat's forehead can never grow thick, nothing can be done with the stony land in Tu-an." We realized that this was not simply a problem of production and construction but, more important, a struggle in the ideological arena. So, we penetratingly aroused the masses to hit hard at the class enemies who incited the masses to move elsewhere, and held a county-wide debate on whether "to move or change in place." We penetratingly criticized the reactionary "theory of Heavenly mandate" and the metaphysical concept that "natural conditions decide everything." After this mass debate, everyone understood that "thinking of moving away" meant yielding to the pressure of nature and, in essence, mistrusting that socialism could change the outlook of Tu-an. "When we are poor, we want to change, work and make revolution." After studying Chairman Mao's teaching, the people of various nationalities redoubled their confidence and said proudly: "The way out for Tu-an is not to move our homes but move the hills." Loudly shouting the slogan "A lofty will overwhelm the hills," they quickly whipped up an upsurge of transforming the hills and streams. Taking class struggle as the key link, they practiced socialism in a big way. Many heart-stirring deeds appeared. For the past seven years four old poor peasants of Sanchihyang Commune has been working

in all kinds of weather on a steep slope to create farmland. They have built more than 100 retaining walls and more than 40 mow of terraced fields. In this spirit of hard work and arduous struggle to "remove a hundred rocks to open up an inch of land, and to surface the land with a thousand basketloads of earth to secure a picul of grain," both the cadres and masses fought and completely changed the outlook of Tu-an. In the past ten years, more than 150 tunnels totalling more than 40,000 meters long have been drilled through stony hills; more than 10,000 draining ditches have been dredged, underground waterways have been dug in 248 places, more than 32,000 reservoirs, pools and ponds have been built, more than 40 hydroelectric power stations have been completed, and more than 200,000 mow of terraced fields have been opened up. In 1975, the area of farmland which gave a normal yield despite drought and waterlogging increased by 4.6 times over 1965. Facts prove eloquently that "the great proletarian cultural revolution is a strong motive force for the development of the social productive forces in our country." Teng Hsiao-p'ing, by negating the great cultural revolution, dishing up "taking the three directives as the key link" and trumpeting the theory of the dying out of class struggle and the theory of productive forces, has totally laid bare his reactionary features of going in for restoration and regression and practicing revisionism.

It is necessary to fully arouse and rely on the masses in order to win in perseveringly grasping class struggle. The great cultural revolution is a great struggle in which hundreds of millions of people take part to combat and prevent revisionism. The reason why this great revolution has won great victories is that "this movement is vast in scale and has indeed set the masses in motion." "Never before has a mass movement been launched in such an extensive and intensive manner." During this great revolution, the revolutionary masses of various nationalities in Tu-an county broke the suppression and obstruction by the bourgeois reactionary line of Liu Shao-ch'i and Teng Hsiao-p'ing and, with free airing of views, big-character posters and mass debates as weapons, rose up to rebel against capitalist roaders within the Party and revisionism and hit fiercely at all decadent, moribund things in the superstructure and the ideological sphere. "The thousand hills and ten thousand valleys are battlefields where all men and women, old and young fight." It was a battle with the force of an avalanche. In those units controlled by capitalist roaders and Kuomintang remnants, leadership was seized back, and many "longstanding, big and difficult" problems were solved. This fully demonstrated the matchless force of the revolutionary mass movement. The practice of struggle shows that in the course of historical development, the masses of people always want progress and revolution. The broad masses of workers and peasants, who were oppressed and exploited in the old society, understand the plight in the old society and the happiness in the new. They have the warmest love for Chairman Mao and the Communist Party, follow the socialist road most firmly, resent capitalist roaders within the Party who practice capitalism, and do not like "bigshots" who practice revisionism suppressing them. They have the strongest revolutionary spirit. The class status of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants explains why they must charge forward and will not retreat in the storm of class struggle. Relying on them, we will be able to defeat all class enemies; without them, grasping class struggle is academic.

In the great cultural revolution, the idealist spirit has been washed away. We have raised our consciousness of relying on the masses of people to carry out class struggle and of exercising all-round dictatorship over the bourgeoisie. Since the new county Party committee was established, we have often gone to the countryside to learn about the history and present conditions of class struggle by the people of various nationalities and about their wishes and aspirations. We rely on the masses to adhere to the correct line and to firmly grasp the initiative in class struggle. In spring last year, we carried out a county-wide struggle to criticize revisionism and capitalism, when we discovered that some units were seriously imbued with the capitalist trend of engaging in side-occupations. Why? We went deep to the grassroots level to seek advice from the masses. Hitting the nail on the head, the poor and lower-middle peasants said: "This is like a vine growing from the top. The root is higher up." A penetrating investigation showed that some leading members of communes and brigades, having a low consciousness of the line, wrongly held that side-occupations could help arouse the enthusiasm of commune members and boost collective funds and the income of commune members. As a result, they took a sympathetic attitude. Others, corrupted by bourgeois ideas and wooed by bad people, openly supported the side-occupations and even took the lead in participating in them. This showed that we should tackle the problem first in the Party. Accordingly, we conducted a deep-going struggle to criticize revisionism, bourgeois ideas and capitalist tendencies among leading bodies at various levels, so as to help everyone follow a correct ideological and political line. The cadres and the masses together took free airing of views, big-character posters and mass debates as a weapon to expose and criticize all sorts of capitalist activities, thereby further consolidating and developing the socialist collective economy. The victory of this struggle made us understand more clearly that "the masses are the real heroes," and it often happens that the lower level is wiser than the higher and the masses are cleverer than leaders. Fighting on the first line of the three great revolutionary movements, the broad masses know the class contradictions in socialist society, the relations between different classes and the restorationist activities of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party. So they are most qualified to speak on class struggle. Provided we firmly trust and rely on the broad masses, we shall be able to build a bastion of steel to combat and guard against revisionism. Whatever tricks the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and a handful of counter-revolutionaries may play, their doom is sealed.

Tempered in the great cultural revolution, the people of all nationalities have further mastered Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, have raised their ability to distinguish between Marxism and revisionism, have accumulated experience in using the airing of views, the big-character posters and mass debates as their weapon to fight against the bourgeoisie, especially the bourgeoisie within the Party, under conditions of proletarian dictatorship, and have played the role of the principal force in the struggle. A few years ago, class enemies in some localities disseminated such reactionary fallacies as "just as hogs and sheep are kept in separate pens, the Yao and the Han do not help each other," "the Chuang and the Yao come from different ancestries, why should they till the land together?" They incited people to draw a line between villages and brigades and sabotaged joint farmland water conservation projects undertaken by the people of various nationalities. Bearing in mind Chairman Mao's great teaching "In the last analysis, the

national struggle is a matter of class struggle," the people promptly saw through and smashed the conspiracies of class enemies in undermining unity between nationalities and the movement of learning from Tachai in agriculture. They whipped up a wave of enthusiasm in "learning from Tachai and fighting side by side to transform the mountains and rivers." Farmland water conservation projects, such as the "friendship road," the "heart-to-heart bridge" and the "unity tunnel" which symbolized unity among nationalities, appeared. This greatly quickened the pace of learning from Tachai in agriculture. Last November, when the program of "taking the three directives as the key link" trumpeted by Teng Hsiao-p'ing was publicized in our county, a Chuang girl of the Tapa No. 2 Production Team of Fulung Commune studied the relevant works of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao and came to realize that "taking the three directives as the key link" was incompatible with the teachings of the mentors of the revolution on taking class struggle as the key link and should be resisted resolutely no matter where it came from. She wrote a short commentary entitled "Class Struggle Is the Key Link of All Work" and pasted it up on a wall in the evening political school. She carried out propaganda among the masses and joined the masses in grasping class struggle and working against "taking the three directives as the key link." As countless facts testify, "What is a true bastion of iron? It is the masses, the millions upon millions of people who genuinely and sincerely support the revolution. That is the real iron bastion which it is impossible, and absolutely impossible, for any force on earth to smash. The counter-revolution cannot smash us; on the contrary, we shall smash it." ("Be Concerned with the Well-Being of the Masses, Pay Attention to Methods of Work") Teng Hsiao-p'ing wildly clamored that "reliance on the workers, peasants and soldiers is relative." This precisely reveals his deepseated hatred against the workers, peasants and soldiers and his utmost fear of the strength of the masses, his worry that the masses may rise up to make revolution against him.

Since the great cultural revolution, we have perseveringly taken class struggle as the key link and implemented the policy of "grasping revolution and promoting production," thereby initially changing the backwardness of Tu-an county. But, compared with other advanced counties, our county is still very far behind and needs to make strenuous efforts. In the current struggle to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must conscientiously study the series of Chairman Mao's important instructions on the great proletarian cultural revolution and repulsing the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. We must criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line penetratingly and on a sustained basis, continue to carry out well the revolution in the superstructure and the economic base, consolidate and develop the gains of the great cultural revolution, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat through to the end!

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Continue to Advance along Chairman Mao's Line on Literature and Art

- study "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art"

by

Yen Feng (燕 枫)

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Ten years have elapsed since the great proletarian cultural revolution was personally initiated and led by Chairman Mao. In these ten years, under the illumination of Chairman Mao's "Talks at the Yenan Forum on Literature and Art" ("Talks"), the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by model revolutionary theatrical works and as a vital aspect of the great cultural revolution, has also won great victories.

Chairman Mao's "Talks" comprehensively sums up the historical experience of the two-line struggle on the cultural front, criticizes all sorts of bourgeois and revisionist ideas about literature and art, and sets for our Party the only correct revolutionary line on literature and art.

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao points out explicitly: "This question of 'for whom?' is fundamental; it is a question of principle." "All our literature and art are for the masses of the people, and in the first place for the workers, peasants and soldiers; they are created for the workers, peasants and soldiers and are for their use." This line on literature and art set by Chairman Mao and aimed at serving workers, peasants and soldiers manifests in a concentrated way the needs of the revolutionary struggle of the proletariat for literature and art, the demands of the broad masses of workers, peasants and soldiers on literature and art, and the clear-cut Party principle of proletarian literature and art. Along this line the proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by model revolutionary theatrical works has advanced with victories.

The genesis of this proletarian revolution in literature and art is definitely not fortuitous, but a natural outcome of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the socialist period. After China passed from the new democratic revolution to the socialist revolution, Liu Shao-ch'i and the bourgeoisie within the Party, with the counter-revolutionary objective of subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat, pushed a revisionist line on literature and art in opposition to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, while carrying out a revisionist political line of restoring capitalism. In the 17 years before the great cultural revolution, this revisionist line dominated the proletariat in the field of literature and art. The brilliant ideas expounded in Chairman Mao's "Talks" were distorted, and Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art was not implemented. Consequently poisonous weeds abounded, and demons and freaks featured in our literary and art works, films, operas, ballads, fine arts, music and dance. All forms of literature and art were used by the bourgeoisie both inside and outside the Party to create public opinion for counter-revolutionary restoration. With Liu Shao-ch'i's

support, a handful of revisionists usurped the leadership of the literary and art circles, recruited turncoats and renegades, and created the monopolist control of all branches of culture and the arts by bourgeois intellectuals.

Under the domination of the sinister revisionist line, the situation of the literary and art circles was such that, as Chairman Mao in his two directives concerning literature and art in 1963 and 1964 pointed out cogently, "the socio-economic base has changed, but the departments of arts as part of the superstructure serving this base still pose serious problems." "In recent years, they have even fallen on the brink of revisionism. If they are not seriously transformed, then one day they will surely become bodies like the Petofi Club of Hungary." This serious warning issued by Chairman Mao clearly pointed out that the main danger was revisionism. If the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party were allowed to take over the position of literature and art, all-round restoration of capitalism would inevitably result, and the dictatorship of the proletariat would be turned into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie. "It won't do not to carry out the great proletarian cultural revolution." The proletarian revolution in literature and art was bound to take place; it was inevitable.

In the "Talks" Chairman Mao teaches us: "In the world today, all culture, all literature and art belong to definite classes and are geared to definite political lines." Politics, revolutionary or counter-revolutionary, means struggle waged by one class against another. Revolutionary struggles in thought and in the arts must be subordinated to political struggle. Under the illumination of Chairman Mao's "Talks," the revolution in Peking opera that began in 1964 lifted the curtain of the revolution in literature and art. Next, Chairman Mao personally initiated and led the criticism of Hai Jui Dismissed From Office, with the spearhead of criticism first directed at the bourgeois representatives in the spheres of ideology and culture and then at Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters. The May 16, 1966 "Circular" of the CCP Central Committee drawn up under Chairman Mao's direction profoundly disclosed the reactionary essence of the "February Outline Report" concocted by P'eng Chen under Liu Shao-ch'i's support. It issued the mobilization order for launching a great political revolution, calling on the whole Party and the people of the whole country to raise high the great banner of the proletarian cultural revolution, thoroughly expose and criticize the bourgeois representatives within the Party, and seize back the leadership usurped by them in various fields. The great victories of the great proletarian cultural revolution smashed Liu Shao-ch'i's bourgeois headquarters and uprooted the revisionist line on literature and art. The torrents of the revolution in literature and art rolled forward on the crest of the victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution, and washed away the filthy water in the sphere of literature and art. "Past scenes are transformed" in the socialist position of literature and art in our country, and profound changes of great historical significance have taken place in literary and art thinking and creation and in the contingent of writers and artists.

As Chairman Mao points out in the "Talks," to unfold struggle in the field of literature and art, "it is imperative to launch a proletarian struggle against non-proletarian ideas." The facts of the class struggle in literature and art show that if bourgeois and revisionist ideas about literature and art are not criticized, it will be impossible to insure the progress

of proletarian literature and art along Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. Domination of the revisionist line on literature and art over 17 years found its expression primarily in the control of our position of literature and art by revisionist ideas of literature and art which were opposed to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. The representative arguments in favor of this sinister line were "writing about the truth," "the broad path of realism," "the deepening of realism," opposing the theory that "the subject matter decides," "middle characters", opposing "the smell of gun-powder," "merging with the spirit of the times," and so forth. The central slogan was "literature and art of the whole people." These theories were derived from Liu Shao-ch'i's theory that class struggle was dying out, and manifested in a concentrated way the reactionary character of the sinister revisioniist line on literature and art. Politically, they rejected the existence of classes, class contradictions and class struggle in the socialist period, and opposed the basic line of the Party. In the field of literature and art, they rejected the class character of literature and art and opposed Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary line on literature and art. Their reactionary aim was to abolish proletarian literature and art and energetically promote bourgeois and revisionist literature and art. The bourgeoisie and the revisionists negate the class character of literature and art and refuse to acknowledge the objective facts of class struggle for the express purpose of covering up their class struggle against the proletariat. Chairman Mao says: "Liu Shao-ch'i advocated the theory of the dying out of class struggle, but he himself never ceased to wage class struggle. He wanted to protect his bunch of renegades and sworn followers." This is also true in the field of literature and art. When Liu Shao-ch'i and the bourgeoisie within the Party advocated "literature and art of the whole people," they actually opposed literature and art serving workers, peasants and soldiers. They wanted to use literature and art to serve the bourgeoisie and the "high officials" who practiced revisionism and to protect renegades, secret agents and sworn followers who sneaked into the literary and art circles. During the great proletarian cultural revolution, literary and art fighters and the revolutionary masses deeply criticized the revisionist ideas about literature and art such as "literature and art of the whole people." They exposed the class essence of these reactionary fallacies and cleared the ideological confusion which for long existed in the sphere of literature and art, and Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought began to take control of the position of literature and art. This swept away the obstacles and opened up a broad path for proletarian revolution in literature and art, promoted the prosperity and development of socialist literature and art, and made literature and art truly "a powerful weapon for uniting and educating the people and for attacking and destroying the enemy" in the hands of the proletariat.

Thanks to the great proletarian cultural revolution, our literary and art creation has in practice settled clearly the question of who should praise whom, and put an end to the prolonged domination of literature and art by representatives of exploiting classes. As early as 34 years ago, Chairman Mao in the "Talks" emphasized that revolutionary writers and artists should portray "new people and the new world." Chairman Mao said: "Why shouldn't we praise the people, creators of world history?" In 1944, in a letter to the P'ing Opera Theater in Yenan, Chairman Mao further pointed out: "History is made by the people, but on the old operatic stage (and in all old literature and art divorced from the people) the people become the scum,

and the stage is dominated by lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters." It is the fundamental task of socialist literary and art creation to reverse the reversal of history and allow the heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers to dominate the stage. If this task is not achieved, the ruling position of the proletariat both politically and economically cannot be consolidated. The landlord and bourgeoisie classes, all along exercising cultural dictatorship, will not allow the laboring people to raise their heads both politically and culturally. Even when their rule has been overthrown in the political and economic fields, they will still use their advantages in the ideological and cultural fields and stubbornly cling to the stage of literature and art, a hereditary domain they have held for centuries. The most important manifestation in the field of creation of the revisionist line on literature and art over 17 years is that every effort was made to safeguard the dominant role of lords and ladies and their pampered sons and daughters on the stage of literature and art. The former Cultural Ministry under control by Liu Shao-ch'i and company became a "ministry of emperors, kings, generals and ministers," a "ministry of scholars and beauties", a "ministry of foreign mummies." The rule of "mummies" on the stage reflected not only the fact that the overthrown landlord and bourgeois classes were not willing to withdraw from the stage of history, but also the unbridled ambition of Liu Shao-ch'i and the bourgeoisie within the Party to subvert the dictatorship of the proletariat and restore capitalism. In socialist society, the workers, peasants and soldiers have become masters of our country, but on the stage they are still "scum." Can we tolerate this? To tolerate this phenomenon is to tolerate the reversal of history by the landlord and bourgeois classes, to tolerate their cultural autocracy and to tolerate the unchecked spread of capitalism and revisionism. The immortal merit of the proletarian revolution in literature and art is that it has driven off the stage all emperors, kings, generals and ministers, scholars and beauties, and freaks and monsters. It has created group after group of model revolutionary theatrical works warmly welcomed by the masses. Shining, heroic images of workers, peasants and soldiers stand majestically on the stage of literature and art. Under the impetus provided by model revolutionary theatrical works, all forms of literature and art are devoted to portraying and praising workers, peasants and soldiers. For the first time masters of socialist society have become masters on the stage of literature and art. This is of extremely vital immediate significance and far-reaching historical importance to combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat.

Another important gain of the proletarian revolution in literature and art is the elimination of the domination of literary and art circles by bourgeois intellectuals and the laying of a foundation for the gradual building of a contingent of proletarian writers and artists. Attaching great importance to building up the literary and art contingent, Chairman Mao in the "Talks" points out explicitly: "To defeat the enemy, we must rely primarily on the army with guns. But this army alone is not enough; we must also have a cultural army, which is absolutely indispensable for uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy." However, before the great cultural revolution, under the control of Liu Shao-ch'i and company, many literary and art bodies and "associations" became fortresses of bourgeois rule. Unless this situation was changed, extremely grave harm could be done to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat. Through the great cultural revolution,

the proletariat has purged the renegades, secret agents and counter-revolutionary revisionists who sneaked into the literary and art contingent and deprived them of power. In this struggle, a revolutionary contingent of writers and artists has kept growing and expanding. The creation of model revolutionary theatrical works has in artistic practice raised an important backbone force for the proletariat. The growth of a large number of literary and art fighters of worker-peasant-soldier origin has added new blood to the literary and art ranks. Educated in the great cultural revolution, most of the existing literary and art workers have changed their mentality. These profound changes in the literary and art ranks, particularly the emergence of a large new force, are precious gains of the revolution in literature and art. We must consolidate and develop them and, under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, build the literary and art contingen into a strong cultural army of the proletariat capable of "uniting our own ranks and defeating the enemy."

The proletarian revolution in literature and art exemplified by model theatrical works has seriously implemented Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art and has gone through a splendid fighting course. It is an important component part of the great proletarian cultural revolution and every victory it has won is a victory of the great proletarian cultural revolution. To negate it is to negate the great cultural revolution. Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, dished up the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link" and energetically whipped up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts. While clamoring for "rectification" in other fields, he also called for "rectification in literature and art" for the express purpose of negating the revolution in literature and art and reversing the verdicts of and settling accounts with the great cultural revolution. It may be recalled that when dark clouds hung over the literary and art circles and evil wind blew all around before the great cultural revolution, Teng Hsiao-p'ing never mentioned "rectification" for literature and art. Instead, he was just another big backstage boss of the revisionist line on literature and art like Liu Shao-ch'i. But today when the proletarian revolution in literature and art has won great victories, he demanded "rectification." Don't we see clearly his evil design in vainly attempting to negate the revolution in literature and art?

Why does Teng Hsiao-p'ing want to "rectify" literature and art? He wants to get rid of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art. He maliciously attacks the revolutionary line on literature and art as unjustified, and in fact, he points the spearhead at Chairman Mao's line on literature and art. The struggle between the two lines is an uncompromising struggle. To Teng Hsiao-p'ing, domination of the literary and art circles by the revisionist line is "justified." But because the revolution in literature and art broke the rule of that revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i and company over literary and art circles, seriously executed Chairman Mao's revolutionary line on literature and art, and won great victories today, Teng Hsiao-p'ing feels that "something has gone wrong." This revealed his "rectification" as being aimed at changing the correct revolutionary line on literature and art. As expected, under Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary

instigation absurd arguments such as "the literature and art of 17 years should be re-evaluated" appeared in literary and art circles, and a blatant attempt was made to reverse the verdict on the revisionist line on literature and art. This fully shows that Teng Hsiao-p'ing wants literature and art to again follow the revisionist line and to turn literature and art into a tool for subverting the dictatorship of the proletariat and restoring capitalism.

By "rectification" of literature and art, Teng Hsiao-p'ing means to lift emperors, kings, generals and ministers as well as freaks and monsters onto the stage once again. The revolution in literature and art expelled these evil characters from the stage, and this to the proletariat and the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers is a happy occasion deserving celebration. However, Teng Hsiao-p'ing comes forward to defend these evil characters, saying, "Old operas have been performed for many years, and the revolution has succeeded." This shows more than anything else that he, as a bourgeois representative within the Party, has deepseated hatred for the occupation of the stage of literature and art by the heroic characters of workers, peasants and soldiers. Since ancient times all reactionary classes have been unwilling to withdraw from the stage of history. From Teng Hsiao-p'ing's hysterical cries, it can be seen that his "rectification" of literature and art means expelling the heroic characters of workers, peasants and soldiers from the stage, lifting emperors, kings, generals and ministers onto the stage, and carrying out counter-revolutionary class reprisals.

Teng Hsiao-p'ing is a valuable teacher by negative example. His vicious hostility toward model revolutionary theatrical works and the revolution in literature and art and his whipping up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts provide us with a vivid lesson on class struggle by negative example, enabling us to further understand that the struggle between the two classes and two lines on the literary and art front is protracted and complex and at times may be very acute. As long as the bourgeoisie exists, the struggle on the literary and art front will not cease for a single day. To advance, the proletariat must struggle and make revolution. Chairman Mao teaches us: "Without struggle, there is no progress." "Will there be need for revolution a hundred years from now? Will there be need for revolution a thousand years from now? There is always need for revolution." The task of the revolution in literature and art is heavy and the journey is long. We must be mentally prepared for protracted struggle, continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, persist in struggle and progress, and oppose restoration and regression. In the current struggle to repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, we must take Chairman Mao's "Talks" as a weapon, stand firm, and display a clear-cut banner in criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing's counter-revolutionary revisionist line, exposing his crimes of attacking and negating the revolution in literature and art, and protect and develop the great gains of the revolution in literature and art as well as those of the great cultural revolution.

Looking back over the past victorious struggle inspires us; looking forward to the journey of the revolution fills us with confidence. So long as we adhere to Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the correct orientation of the revolution in literature and art, we "shall surely be able to bring about a transformation in ourselves and in our works and to create many fine works which will be warmly welcomed by the masses of people." We shall surely be able to advance from victory to victory in our struggle against the bourgeoisie for the possession of the battleground of literature and art.

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Lively Practice of Mass Participation in Scientific Research

- On a survey of the meteoric shower in Kirin

by

A Joint Survey Team of Chinese Academy of Sciences, Kirin Province and Kirin City

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On March 8, this year, a meteoric shower of unprecedented scale fell in the Kirin areas of Kirin Province in our country. This is a major event in the history of science at home and abroad.

At about 3 p.m. that day, a meteorite caught up with the earth in the same direction as the earth's revolution around the sun and entered the atmosphere over the Kirin areas. Owing to its friction with the air, the meteorite flashed across the sky like a huge fireball from east to west. At 15 hours one minute 59 seconds, it exploded over the northern part of Kirin city. The sound of the explosion shook the earth, with echoes of a deafening thunderclap lasting for as long as four to five minutes. Fragments of the blast fell to the ground like isolated rain drops. The largest piece fell on the area of the K'aoshan No. 10 brigade, Huap'ich'ang Commune, Yungchi County; this was Meteorite No. 1 as we call it. It broke through a 1.7-meter-thick layer of frozen soil, sank 6.5 meters deep into the ground and formed a three-meter-deep crater with a diameter of over two meters. When the meteorite fell to the ground, the soil was instantly blasted and clumps of earth fell all round the center, a mushroom-shape smoke column dozens of meters high rising from the ground. The appearance, explosion and falling to the ground of this meteorite took place within a minute or more. But thousands of people in the Kirin areas saw this "intruder" from the cosmic space and more than a million people heard the sound of its explosion.

The meteoric shower in Kirin was a shower of stone meteorites. It was something unusual in world history in respect to the number and weight of the meteorites and the area affected. It covered several hundred square kilometers of a strip embracing suburban Kirin and Yungchi and Chiaoho Counties--an area much larger than that in the Allende Region of Mexico where the world's biggest meteoric shower fell in 1969. At present, more than a hundred meteorites have been collected, with the total weight of more than 2,600 kilograms. The biggest one of them, Meteorite No. 1, is 1,770 kilograms, much heavier than the previously known world's largest stone meteorite of 1,078 kilograms which is in the United States.

The fall of meteoric shower is a natural phenomenon, an objective thing, but its study reflects people's subjective dynamic roles. The survey of the present meteoric shower took only a short time, was done quickly and yielded relatively great results. In more than a month's time, a large quantity of meteorites was collected, the area of distribution of the meteoric shower, its characteristics and the number and weight of the meteorites were basically ascertained. First-hand materials of great research value were

accumulated with respect to the flight, explosion and falling to the ground of meteorites. The meteorites were also initially described, analyzed and evaluated. Meanwhile, a great deal of science popularization work was carried out. According to our understanding, the most basic reason for the completion in so short a time of a fruitful survey of such a large-scale meteoric shower is that through the great proletarian cultural revolution and under the Party's leadership we have carried out Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and brought into full play the role of the workers, peasants and soldiers as the main force and the enthusiasm of scientists and technicians by means of conducting scientific research in an open-door manner and encouraging mass participation in scientific research. If we had followed the revisionist line of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and done away with the Party's leadership and reliance on the masses, it would have been impossible to achieve such great results.

The fall of a meteoric shower occurs suddenly in a short time. To observe and record promptly and accurately the various phenomena of the fall of the meteoric shower is of extremely vital value to the study of the meteoric science. The first-hand materials regarding the meteoric shower in Kirin were all collected by the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers. After the appearance of the meteorites, despite the unusual phenomena in the sky and the deafening sounds of the explosion, the broad masses, tempered in the great proletarian cultural revolution and having broken the mysticism of nature, proceeded at once in a practical and calm manner to carry out careful observations and make records. The pilots of the armed forces on the basis of their own experience studied the condition of the flight of the fireball. Many commune members in the rural areas observed the phenomenon of the falling to the ground of the fragments and powder of the meteorite and tested the temperature of the meteorite after it fell to the ground. The local seismic station accurately recorded the time of explosion of the meteorites and the falling to the ground of Meteorite No. 1. In the broad areas where the meteorites fell, thousands of commune members, cadres and students searched for and collected the meteorites. Some factories also analyzed the composition of the meteorites and tested the specific gravity and magnetism of the meteorites. In the course of protecting and extracting Meteorite No. 1, members of the militia, men and women, stood guard around the clock, carefully keeping an eye on the crater. The cadres, masses and scientists and technicians, cooperating with each other, quickly dug up the meteorite. On their own initiative the educated young people explained to the masses the common knowledge of astronomy and meteorites and criticized idealism and the concept of Heaven's mandate. These lively scenes fully demonstrated the great potency of mass participation in scientific research, enabling us to further realize the importance of open-door scientific research. Only when we go out to join the masses and learn from them can we secure such precious materials and so much practical knowledge unknown to and unseen by us before. But in the eyes of Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the biggest unrepentant capitalist roader in the Party, only those bourgeois specialists and authorities may conduct scientific research, and the workers, peasants and soldiers are not qualified to do so. The practice of the survey of the meteoric shower in Kirin ruthlessly crushes his reactionary fallacies of historical idealism and vividly explains that the workers, peasants and soldiers are the richest in practical experience, the masters of science and the main force in carrying out scientific research as in class struggle and the struggle for production.

In the past some comrades of ours used to think that while it was possible to mobilize the masses to carry out research in those items which directly served industrial and agricultural production, in the case of such a theoretical subject as meteoric science, only professional research units could undertake the study, not the masses. In the course of the survey of the present meteoric shower, it is precisely the masses of workers and peasants who have helped us solve some theoretical problems of science. Before the great cultural revolution, as professional workers were divorced from the masses and real life and confined to books, they were for a long time unable to answer some questions about the fall of meteorites and had to follow the views of others. Not only did they fail to develop any theory, but what they did was often absurd. For instance, those who wrote the book were ambiguous about the difference between the sound of the explosion of the fireball and the sound of fragmentation of the meteorites. This matter was quickly clarified by an on-the-spot investigation among the masses, and new discoveries were made. Further understanding was achieved of the phenomenon of sounds about which nothing was written in books. This was of important value to the analysis of the theory concerning the flight of the meteorites in the atmosphere. For another instance, the temperature of the meteorites when they fall to the ground is a question that must be answered in the study of meteorites. But for a long time, meteorite researchers in China and elsewhere held different opinions. Some said they were hot, others said they were warm, and still others said that they were cool. A book by a foreign "authority" said that "when they fall to the earth, meteorites are a little warm, not incandescent." As we had neither personal experience nor made any practical investigation, we could not decide which view was correct. This time, after the meteorites fell to the ground, some of the local masses quickly went over to touch the meteorites; some dashed several hundred meters to touch the meteorites; and some tested the temperature of the meteorites by putting frozen earth on top of them. We carried out separate investigations into these tests, and made analysis and comparisons with the masses. It was then that we were able to arrive at the understanding that the stone meteorites must be burning very hot at the time of their falling to the ground, an understanding which was relatively comformable to objective reality. Many facts tell us that "theory is based on practice." ("On Practice") Practice by the millions and millions of masses is the source of the development of theory, and the development of scientific theories can be promoted only by mass participation in scientific research. Those who engage in basic theoretical research must likewise carry out professional re-study in the course of the practice of mass participation in scientific research. If scientists are cut off from the masses and practice, their minds would become unscientific and their research would be like water without a source. The advocators of the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts in scientific and technological circles said that "if too much attention is paid to linking with reality, theory will be suppressed." This is an idealist fallacy which completely reverses the relationship between theory and practice.

Participation in the survey of the meteoric shower in Kirin has also enabled us, during our contacts with the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers, to absorb rich political nourishment and enhance our feeling

and sentiment for the laboring people. We were deeply impressed by the noble style of the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants who work selflessly in the public interest and without demanding remuneration, and by their concern for the national cause of scientific research and their sense of responsibility as masters. Although the masses too highly treasured the meteorites they had collected, when they learned of the vital significance of the study of meteorites, they handed them over to the state of their own accord. This is hardly imaginable in capitalist countries where meteorites have to be paid for. This is in sharp contrast with the bourgeois concept of private ownership of knowledge, keeping secret the scientific data one collects, regarding knowledge as personal property to be sold at a bargain price; it is in sharp contrast with the bourgeois idea of winning fame and wealth by a work or a paper. We took the practice of surveying the meteorites as a process of transforming our own thoughts. While carrying out the investigation, we studied Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and received re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers. This enabled us to further raise our ideological consciousness of serving proletarian politics and the workers, peasants and soldiers. Though the tasks were very heavy and tense, the comrades often worked till mid-night, unafraid of difficulties and ignoring their fatique. In searching for a clue to the direction of the flight of the fireball, some comrades walked for more than five hours. In the course of extracting Meteorite No. 1, some comrades ate, slept and worked in the crater with the workers and poor and lower-middle peasants for days on end. Chairman Mao says: "You can't solve that problem? Well, investigate its present and past conditions!" ("Oppose Book Worship") Acting on this instruction, we in the course of the survey stuck to the materialist theory of knowledge and conducted penetrating and meticulous investigation and study. In order to secure all sorts of reliable data, we toured all over the broad region where the meteorites fell, interviewed up to a thousand people, and called more than 40 investigation meetings. Whenever we found a new clue, we would find the eye-witnesses and repeatedly verify it to our satisfaction. Chairman Mao points out: "If intellectuals do not integrate themselves with the masses of workers and peasants, they will accomplish nothing." ("The May 4 Movement") The results gained from our survey and our ideological progress are inseparable from the guidance of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and the re-education from the workers, peasants and soldiers.

In the course of the survey of the meteoric shower in Kirin, we deeply realized that whether scientific research should be conducted in an open-door or closed-door manner and whether it should depend on the majority or a few is not an ordinary question of method but a question of the line or world outlook. Conducting scientific research in an open-door manner and mass participation in scientific research are a correct direction to which scientific research work must keep; they open up vast prospects for the development of the cause of science in our country, and point out a bright road for scientific researchers to revolutionize their thinking. Only thus will it be possible to break this mysterious "forbidden zone" that had for long been occupied by the bourgeoisie and to enable millions upon millions of laboring people to become the main force in scientific research. Only thus will it be possible to liberate science from the ivory tower of the bourgeoisie and make it the property of the laboring people for use by socialism. And only thus will it be possible to enable the vast numbers of scientists and

technicians to emancipate their minds, broaden their vision, gradually free themselves from the bondage of the revisionist line and the concept of bourgeois rights and become intellectuals welcomed by the worker and peasant masses.

The work of surveying and studying meteorites before the cultural revolution was dominated by the revisionist line of Liu Shao-ch'i, when scientific research was conducted only by the experts while workers, peasants and soldiers were excluded. Mass enthusiasm for scientific research was suppressed, and the thinking of scientists and technicians was corroded and poisoned and their enthusiasm could hardly be brought into play. In those days few meteorites were collected, and even those which were collected were not properly studied. As a result, for a long time we did not have our own research data, and even our textbooks were copies of foreign works. During the cultural revolution the revisionist line on scientific research has been strongly denounced. Scientific research has been conducted in an open-door manner and mass participation encouraged. This has greatly generated the enthusiasm and creative powers of the masses of workers, peasants and soldiers and of scientists and technicians, and gratifying results have been attained in the work of surveying and studying meteorites. New meteorites were successively discovered in Nantan of Kwangsi, Anlung of Kweichow, Tungt'ai of Kiangsu and Shuangyang of Kirin, and some meteorites were studied in greater depth. Not only was research of some relatively difficult items undertaken and some blanks filled up, but some items were up to the internationally advanced standards. The iron meteoric shower which fell in the Nantan area of Kwangsi was discovered through reports by the masses in 1958. But at that time it was not studied, nor was even a survey carried out. As a result, this major world event of iron meteoric shower was kept obscure. After the start of the cultural revolution, scientists and technicians went out and conducted a penetrating on-the-spot survey by relying on the local masses. It was then that the event was clarified and study undertaken. The cultural revolution has enabled the work of surveying and studying meteorites to assume a brand new face. We absolutely shall not allow Teng Hsiao-p'ing to reverse the verdicts of the cultural revolution, negate the great achievements brought about by this revolution and reinstate that kind of stuff of revisionism.

Like other branches of natural science, the study of meteorites is the summation of the experience of the laboring people's prolonged struggle against nature. The Chinese people were the first to understand and record meteorites in the world. Records about meteorites were kept in the Spring and Autumn and Warring States periods. Hsün K'uang, a Legalist representative, for the first time revealed the material substance of meteorites with the simple materialist viewpoint. He pointed out that the fall of meteorites was a natural phenomenon: "The fall of the stars and the sounds of the wood signify changes in heaven and earth, mutations of the positive and negative forces, that something unusual has happened." By the Han Dynasty, there was the scientific interpretation that "when the stars fell to the ground, they were found to be stones." However, reactionary ruling classes over the ages used this natural phenomenon--the fall of meteorites--to benumb and govern the laboring people. Confucius and other reactionary Confucian scholars described the fall of meteorites as a warning of disaster from Heaven and preached the reactionary concept of Heaven's mandate. Before the liberation, the Kuomintang reactionary rulers also used meteorites to deceive and

fool the laboring people. It is only in socialist new China that, guided by Chairman Mao's proletarian revolutionary people, the laboring people have gained spiritual emancipation. Particularly following the great proletarian cultural revolution and the movement to criticize Lin Piao and Confucius, the masses of people have smashed superstitions and freed their minds, with their wisdom and talent brought into fuller play. This has provided a reliable basis for the development of the meteoric science in our country.

China should make greater contributions to mankind. The study of meteorites is an indispensable aspect of scientific research. As meteorites evolved from the same primordial solar nebulae as other celestial bodies of the earth, the moon and the solar system about 4.6 billion years ago, they contained chemical elements approximating those of the earth and the entire solar system. For this reason, a penetrating study of meteorites may enable us to understand more deeply the materialist viewpoint that "the real entity in the world lies in its material substance" ("Anti-Duhring," Selected Works of Marx and Engels, Vol. III, p. 85) It may increase our understanding of nature. The study of meteorites also has extremely vital value to a series of natural sciences such as the history of celestial bodies, the history of the earth and the history of biology and astronomy, astrophysics, cosmo-chemistry, and high energy physics. For instance, because meteorites bring from the cosmic space cosmic rays and such signals as high energy nuclear reaction, they provide relatively ideal samples for us to know the universe and explore new elements and basic particles. The process of meteorites entering the atmosphere at a high speed, their burning on the surface, light emission, explosion and finally their impact on the ground resembles the process of the return to the atmosphere of man-made satellites, flying boats and rockets and the explosion of nuclear weapons. This has provided us with valuable parameters for the study of space flight and nuclear weapons. The wide area covered by the meteoric shower in Kirin, the large number of meteorites and the rich data they provided offer facilities for research work. We must, under the Party's leadership, take class struggle as the key link, adhere to the correct orientation of conducting scientific research in an open-door manner and encouraging mass participation in scientific research, use Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought to guide scientific research, and strive to make a success of the work of studying the meteoric shower in Kirin, so that "we will discover something, invent something, create something, and make some progress." We should repulse the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts with concrete action, criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, and consolidate and develop the fruits of victory of the great cultural revolution.

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Learn from Lu Hsün's Criticism of the Old Education

by

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Chairman Mao teaches us: "Lu Hsün was a main fighter in the Chinese cultural revolution. He was not only a great man of letters but a great thinker and a great revolutionary." ("On New Democracy") In a lifetime of fighting bravely for the liberation cause of the Chinese people, Lu Hsün battled in many spheres, education being his important battleground. He began with the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and showed his invincible power in revealing all the evils of the old education, his criticisms at a later period in particular gleaming with the radiance of Marxism. Lu Hsün's fighting experience in combining the criticism of the old education with the repudiation of Confucius still provides us with considerable inspiration in the current criticism of Teng Hsiao-p'ing and struggle to repulse the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts.

In the old China where Lu Hsün lived and fought, the old education, which reflected the semi-colonial and semi-feudal economic base and political system,was in the service of imperialism and feudal landlord and comprador-bourgeois classes. This semi-colonial and semi-feudal educational system was in the main characterized by the promotion of a slavish education that preached worshiping things foreign and national betrayal, honoring Confucius and studying the Confucian classics. After the Revolution of 1911, both the Northern Warlords and the Kuomintang reactionaries followed the old road taken by the group of people who wanted to learn from the West in the bygone years, that is, an educational system based on the "knowledge of Chinese as basic and application of Western learning as something to be desired," and therefore the semi-colonial and semi-feudal character of the old education remained unchanged. The slogan "Down with the Confucian shop" that was raised during the May 4 movement fiercely pounded at the slavish education preaching revering Confucius and studying the Confucian classics. However, after the May 4 movement subsided, a number of descendants of former feudal officials and comprador-bourgeois men of letters, with the support of the Northern Warlord government, sprang out to counter-attack in retaliation and reverse the verdicts of the May 4 movement. This for a time revived the practice of honoring Confucius and studying the Confucian classics. When the War of the Northern Expedition was victorious in 1927, Chiang Kai-shek staged a counter-revolutionary coup and established the reactionary rule of the Kuomintang reactionaries. An anti-communist political line of national betrayal was then introduced which contributed substantially toward boosting the slavish education of honoring Confucius and studying the Confucian classics. It is very clear that the reactionary classes stubbornly advocated the slavish education with the sinister purpose of preventing the Chinese proletariat from leading the new democratic revolution against imperialism and feudalism so they could maintain their reactionary rule.

Proceeding from a completely uncompromising stand against imperialism and feudalism, Lu Hsün fought and remained in the forefront of the anti-Confucius struggle, exposing and criticizing the slavish education of revering Confucius and studying the Confucian classics. He pointed out sharply: "Preserving the old culture is to make the Chinese the stuff in the service of their masters." ("The Old Tune Has Been Sung") The so-called education at the time "is in fact nothing but a method for making numerous machines that conform to the environment." ("Correspondence from Two Localities", March 18, 1925) With the deepgoing development of the new democratic revolution under the leadership of the Chinese Communist Party, Lu Hsün was gradually transformed from a revolutionary democrat into a communist fighter. At the increasingly crucial junctures of national crisis, he adhered to the proletarian stand and, on the plane of the struggle between the two lines, exposed how the Kuomintang reactionaries pushed the slavish education and used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius to poison the Chinese people so as to help the imperialists conquer the mind of the Chinese nation and divest the Chinese people of ideological weapons before the imperialist aggressors. He pointed out angrily: "By giving them the lion-and-tiger-type education, they will know how to use claws and fangs; by giving them cow-and-sheep-type education, they will know how to use a pair of pitible horns in times of great exigencies. But what type of education have we given them? Not even tiny horns for them, who at the approach of great danger have to take flight like rabbits." ("On 'Meeting Danger' and 'Getting Away from Danger'") This pointedly revealed that the slavish education undertaken then was completely in the service of the line of national betrayal pushed by the Kuomintang reactionaries and imperialist aggression against China.

Linking the struggle against the old education with the criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, Lu Hsün relentlessly exposed and penetratingly criticized the old educational system, from the educational goals of the old school to the content and methods of instruction.

He repudiated the reactionary educational idea of regarding going to school as a "door-knocking brick" to official appointment, a reactionary idea rooted in the Confucian trash of "excelling in learning in order to become an official." For thousands of years, the reactionary ruling classes always identified this as the direction for running schools and the object of going to school. Therefore, in his struggle against the old educational system, Lu Hsün in the first place aimed the spearhead at the idea of "excelling in learning in order to become an official" and revealed its grave harm with artistic images. In the story "Kung I-chi," for instance, two characters, K'ung I-chi and Ting Chü-jen, fostered by the old educational system, are portrayed. K'ung uses the "brickbat" of "excelling in learning in order to become an official" to knock at the "door" of officialdom, but he fails to get in through the "door." Consequently, all his life "he cannot even become half of a scholar." Instead, the old educational system has done him great harm and transforms him into a good-for-nothing in the sense that he knows nothing about farming or performing other types of manual labor and cannot even distinguish one cereal from the others. He can only brag about his skill in writing the word hui (茴) in four different ways. Imbued with the idea that "proficiency in learning is above all other callings," he shows his learning wherever he goes and refuses to become one with the laboring

people. Ting, the other character depicted in the novel, is a "door-knocker" who succeeds in opening the "door." As a successful candidate in the provincial examination under the old civil service examination system, he becomes a local despot and it is he who drives K'ung to desperation and death. Through these two characters the novel tells people that those who have been fostered by the old educational system, by the idea of equating proficiency in learning with a "door-knocking brickbat," are either good-for-nothing or executioners.

Although Lu Hsün was critical of the old civil service examination system, the schools that were run at a later period clung to the idea of looking upon proficiency in learning as a "door-knocking brickbat" to official appointment. Lu Hsün pointed out that one who was trained in such a school could only become an intellectual aristocrat lording it over the toiling people. "He can compile historical accounts, examine essays, rule the people or harness the rivers; in the final years of the Ch'ing dynasty he can run schools, open coalmines, train new troops, build warships, present detailed measures for a new administrative structure, and make inspection trips abroad." Although such comrador-bourgeois "scholars" appeared more versed in "learning from the West" than K'ung and Ting, what would be the consequence if they were employed to administer the affairs of the state? Lu Hsün said quite humorously, "I need say no more." ("Prominent People and Famous Sayings") History has given the answer: Bringing disaster to the country and misfortune to the people. They were merely faithful lackeys that upheld the reactionary rule and could not do anything good to the people.

Lu Hsün was opposed to the idea of "excelling in learning in order to become an official" and under the historical conditions which prevailed at the time he hoped to train young people and transform them into revolutionaries who would dare to go against the old system and old ideology. He said, "I have long cherished the hope that the Chinese youth will come forward and without reservations criticize the Chinese society and civilization." ("Just a Note," Huakai Collection) In his essays such as "In the Wine Shop," "The Loner" and "Melancholy Thoghts," Lu Hsün made searching observations of young intellectuals in those days. Educated youths like Lu Wei-fu, Wei Lien-shu, Chuan Sheng and Tzu Chün portrayed in his works wanted to move forward and had fought against the old society, but later they all ended in failure. The reason was their failure to integrate themselves with the worker-peasant masses and their pursuit of personal happiness to the exclusion of the emancipation of society as a whole, and this could only lead to gradual degeneration. After Lu Hsün gradually grasped historical materialism and identified the masses as the real heroes, he said: "The world has been created by fools; wise men cannot sustain the world." ("After I Wrote 'Grave'") "Only the newly rising proletariat has a future." ("Foreword, Two-Hearts Collection") Therefore, he insisted that an intellectual should be part of the laboring masses. He said rightly, "He is just one of the multitude and only then, in my opinion, can he attend to the affairs of the multitude." ("A Literary Talk Outside the Gate") If intellelctuals regard themselves as "towering above the rest", look upon proficiency in learning as a "door-knocking brickbat" and expect "a rich reward" when "the revolution is successful in the future," having the privilege to "ride in special-class cars and take special-class meals," then it would be quite easy for them to become the "Right Wing." ("Views on the League of Leftwing Writers") Even now, haven't we found people

who are college-trained refraining from becoming one with the workers and peasants? It would be quite thought-provoking to go over the words said by Lu Hsün more than 40 years ago!

Lu Hsün was critical of the educational programs based on traditional conventions and old ideology. What education embodies serves definite educational goals. In order to foster faithful lackeys and apologists, reactionary ruling classes in succeeding generations followed the example of Confucius by including the old conventions and old ideology as the main content of education. Compared with feudal education, semi-colonial and semi-feudal education naturally incorporated some changes that permitted students to study some of the so-called scientific knowledge relating to "light, sound, electricity and chemistry." However, the changes were only superficial as the essence remained unchanged. As Lu Hsün put it, "In a nutshell, where previously it was 'knowledge of Chinese as basic and application of Western learning as something to be desired,' it is now 'to take appropriate measures when the situation demands and to reach a compromise as required.'" What they considered as basic was still the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as related to old conventions and old ideology, and acquisition of some "Western learning" was merely intended to induce the students to "master foreign skills and preserve old Chinese practices, that is, new skills, old ideas." ("Random Impressions, 48") This kind of old education that combined the "knowledge of Chinese" with "Western learning" was in fact no more than a reactionary alliance between imperialist culture and semi-feudal culture to oppose China's new culture.

Chairman Mao teaches us: "All that advocates honoring Confucius and studying Confucian classics, promotes the old conventions and old ideology, and opposes the new culture and new ideas" comprises the reactionary culture. "This kind of reactionary culture which serves imperialist and feudal classes should be toppled." ("On New Democracy") Completely exposing and criticizing the reactionary essence of the old conventions and old ideology harmful to young people was a very important aspect of Lu Hsün's repudiation of the old education. He likened the old conventions and old ideology to a "pliant knife" and pointed out that this was more vicious than a "steel knife." He said, "The Chinese may feel painful when they are cut by others with a steel knife, but there are still some means at their disposal. If a pliant knife is used, then they 'don't feel like dying when their heads are severed' and certainly will be finished off." ("The Old Tune Has Been Sung") Therefore, Lu Hsün made a practice of repeatedly teaching young people to guard against the reactionaries holding lethal but non-blood-drawing "pliant knives" in their hands. His novels and essays written before and after the May 4 Movement aimed their spearhead at the criticism of the old conventions and old ideology. "Diary of a Madman" exposes the "man-eating" nature of the old conventions and appeals to the public to "save the children"--serving to awaken the befuddled. His other essays like "My Views on Chastity" and "What We Should Do as Fathers" serve as declarations denouncing the old conventions. Subsequently, he also criticized the reactionary teaching materials that preached the old conventions and old ideology such as A Profile of 24 Filial Virtues, The Three-Character Classic, Poems by Child Prodigies and Book of Miscellaneous and Elementary Studies. Lu Hsün pointed out that the old school used stuff such as these to do harm to the young mind so young people would become "docile subjects." ("On Seeing with Wide Open Eyes") The same stuff was used to foster lackeys for the reactionary ruling classes so they

would know how to manipulate people and play the power game, "stealing a high reputation in the name of basic principles." ("'Studying the Classics' for 14 Years")

In the years after 1927, Lu Hsün, gearing himself to the political struggles at that time, even more sharply exposed the reactionary nature of the old conventions and old ideology in serving the capitulation and national betrayal of the Kuomintang reactionaries. Chiang Kai-shek, enemy of the people, laid particular emphasis on "government by propriety" and alleged that "propriety" "is what counts regarding the basic principles of setting an example for personal conduct and building up a state." With biting sarcasm and relentless castigation, Lu Hsün said: "'Do not look at what is not in accord with propriety, do not listen to what is not in accord with propriety, do not say or do what is not in accord with propriety,' and quietly wait for others to 'perpetrate misdeeds and be doomed'--this is propriety." ("Propriety") This was a penetrating revelation of how the Kuomintang reactionaries preached the teachings of propriety to tie the Chinese people hand and foot, to make them talk "courteousness" with and be slaughtered by the imperialists as they pleased. The first lesson in the Primer of Confucian Teachings, published by the Kuomintang authorities at that time, for another example, cited a passage from Canon of Filial Piety: "Confucius told Tseng Tzu: 'The hair and skin on your body are given by your parents. You must not damage them, and that is the beginning of filial piety.'" In other words, protecting the hair and skin of the body is in keeping with filial piety and this naturally rules out fighting against the imperialist aggressors. Lu Hsün retorted: "If so, does 'giving up one's life for the country' mean the 'end of filial piety'?" ("Making Fun") Raising this question touched the Kuomintang reactionaries where it hurt, in their use of old conventions to practice capitulation and national betrayal.

Lu Hsün attached particular importance to the revolutionary content of education. Teaching materials compiled and written by him, like An Outline History of Chinese Literature and A Brief History of Chinese Fiction, abound in the fighting spirit of repudiating the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius. These books contain nothing of the trash of revering Confucius and opposing the Legalists, affirm the merits and contributions of the laboring people, and give high evaluation to those Legalist representatives in history who adhered to reform and their works. More than once he appealed for supplies of revolutionary books for the youth and called for "utmost efforts to move practical spiritual food and place it around the young people." ("From Being Deaf to Being Mute") He likened the study and translation of Marxist-Leninist works to the act of Prometheus who stole fire from heaven and gave it to man in a Greek myth, and encouraged young people to study more Marxist-Leninist books.

Lu Hsün was also critical of the teaching method of "learning by rote." The old school inherited the Confucian practice of "cultivation behind closed doors" and promoted "study behind closed doors." This caused students to divorce themselves from reality and the masses and to confine themselves to book knowledge. This method of instruction served the needs of

fostering an intellectual aristocracy that lord it over the masses. Lu Hsün's deep understanding of this was manifested in his disbelief in either the so-called "scholar" or "great learning." He said, "The scholar of former days thought he knew everything, and this arrogant big lie gave rise to the saying that 'a scholar knows all the events in the world without going outside of his house.'" Lu Hsün punctured this lie, pointing out: "The truth is that 'although the scholar goes out of his house, he does not know everything in the world.' With only the scholar's brains and eyes, it is impossible for a scholar to see all the events of the world as clearly as he thinks."("Proverbial Sayings") Lu Hsün's criticism was entirely correct. "Correct ideas can only come from social practice." How can the "learn-by-rote" school of intellectuals, who are imbued with the notions of the exploiting classes and divorced from the masses and without any practical experience, have any sound ideas? They are just blind to the "affairs of the world." Regarding the old university, Lu Hsün also was aware of the fact that no real skills could be acquired by confining oneself behind closed doors in that type of school. He categorically said, "There is no alternative to having such a school completely revamped." ("Correspondence between Two Localities," January 5, 1927) Lu Hsün's criticisms thus revealed that the "learn-by-rote" method of education, being divorced from social practice, was determined by the nature of the reactionary ruling classes and the idealist ideology of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius.

As a great revolutionary, Lu Hsün upheld actual and fiery revolutionary struggles and favored combining theory with practice. Reactionary men of letters like Hu Shih vilified the student movement as "destroying the scholars" and lured young people into reading the works of Confucius and Mencius behind closed doors. Denouncing them, he pointed out cogently: "If one reads fewer Chinese books, the result will merely be that he doesn't know how to write compositions. But what is important to the youth of today is 'do,' not 'speak.' As long as one is alive, it doesn't matter if he doesn't know how to write compositions." ("A Letter Young People Must Read") Lu Hsün attached importance to actual participation in revolutionary struggles, not "learning by rote." He likened those who were divorced from reality and from the masses to bean sprouts on a plate--"they remain as they are for want of soil." ("Before the Appearance of a Genius") Therefore, Lu Hsün time and again urged young people to "use their eyes to read the living book in the world," that is, facing the world and gaining knowledge in the storms of revolutionary struggles. Lu Hsün was of course not opposed to reading books, on the contrary, he was in favor of reading more books, but he insisted that this "must be done in relation with society at large, so all the books one has read may come alive." ("Random Talks about Study") In his view, young people must hurl themselves into the revolutionary struggles, "go deep among the masses" and "understand deeply the minds of the people" ("Habits and Reform") before they can temper themselves in struggle and become brave and firm revolutionary fighters.

Lu Hsün's criticism of the old education was so penetrating and forceful because he got to the essence of the matter by combining his criticism of the old education with the repudiation of Confucius. In his own words, "It is to stir a bit those badly sited ancestral graves." ("Letters of Lu Hsün," January 4, 1935) This very precious experience is still of immense immediate significance to our current efforts to criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing

and beat back the Right deviationist attempt to reverse verdicts. In dishing out the revisionist program of "taking the three directives as the key link," stirring up the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and opposing the revolution in education, the arch unrepentant Party capitalist roader Teng Hsiao-p'ing used the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius as an ideological weapon. With Teng's backing and under his provocations, a handful of unrepentant capitalist roaders in the educational circles opposed criticism of the idea of "excelling in learning in order to become an official," openly declared that university students should not become one with the workers and peasants, and defied the educational policy formulated by Chairman Mao of training "laborers with both socialist consciousness and culture." They attacked the "one-sided character" of running schools with open doors and shouted that worker-peasant-soldier university students "are not as good as intermediate technical school students of the past, whether politically or professionally." They even called for the training of "bookworms" to induce people to take the "learn-by-rote" old track. All this is nothing new but the trash of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius criticized by Lu Hsün decades ago!

The counter-revolutionary clamors of the bourgeoisie in the Party, with Teng Hsiao-p'ing as the general representative, clearly illustrate that they are nothing but a bunch of Confucius worshippers. This tells us by negative example that criticism of the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius and elimination of their pernicious influence is a long-range fighting task. Throughout the historical period of socialism, the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines will go on and the class struggle on the educational front is far from over. Whoever is engaged in reversing verdicts, practicing restoration and regression will "follow" Confucius' "old pattern." In learning from Lu Hsün, we should read some of his works and inherit and carry forward his thoroughgoing revolutionary spirit. We should take Lu Hsün as an example, assiduously study Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought, continue to criticize the doctrines of Confucius and Mencius, and make a radical rupture with old traditions and concepts. Only by doing so can we persist in taking class struggle as the key link, adhere to the Party's basic line, completely repudiate Teng Hsiao-p'ing's revisionist line, and carry the continued revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat to its completion.

* * *

Unswervingly Take the Road of Integrating with Workers and Peasants

by

T'ung Ying-ju (佟英茹)
an educated youth who settles down in the countryside

(Hung-ch'i /Red Flag/, No. 6, May 23, 1976)

In the days when the people of the whole country are greeting the tenth anniversary of the great proletarian cultural revolution with great victories won in deeply criticizing Teng Hsiao-p'ing and hitting back at the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts, I am charged with real emotion by a look back at the journey I have made in growing from a student who could not tell the difference between the five cereals into a new-type peasant who is well acquainted with and loves the countryside, from an ordinary Red Guard fighter into a Party cadre of the grassroots level in the rural areas. It is my profound realization that the road the educated youth take in going to the mountain and rural areas and integrating with the workers and peasants is the bright golden road charted by Chairman Mao for us. Despite the fact that the road is rugged and full of brambles, because we have the correct guidance of the Party and the poor and lower-middle peasants serving our guides for every forward step we take, our future is infinitely bright provided we keep to the course set.

Having graduated from the senior middle section of the Tientsin Municipal No. 16 Middle School in 1967, in July 1968, in response to our great leader Chairman Mao's call, I went to settle down in a brigade of Sutulun Commune in Ulate Front Banner, Inner Mongolia. However, the road I took was not all smooth. When I graduated from the junior middle section, I and some of classmates decided to give up further schooling and, emulating Hsing Yen-tzu and Hou Chün, go to the countryside to take up farming as a career. But at that time the school under the domination of the revisionist educational line, aimed at training students to supply the "best" to "institutions of higher learning," and on the pretext that "taking an entrance examination for higher schooling is a requirement of the Party," prevented us from going to the countryside. And in those days, as we had only the relatively simple idea that a revolutionary youth should go to the most difficult place, we did not really understand the far-reaching significance of this movement, so we listened to the school leadership and went on to the senior middle section. In 1966, like a spring thunderclap roaring throughout the land, the great proletarian cultural revolution, initiated and led personally by Chairman Mao, first hit hard at the field of education in which the revisionist educational line was deeply entrenched. We Red Guard fighters, holding high the revolutionary banner "It is right to rebel against reactionaries," directed the spearhead of struggle at the bourgeois headquarters led by Liu Shao-ch'i. In the course of struggle, I braved the storm, saw the world and also gained a better understanding of the vital significance of educated young people going to the countryside.

At that time, my comrades-in-arms and I wrote an open letter to bombard the handful of capitalist roaders on the former Municipal Party Committee and criticize their revisionist line. We did not expect that we would be subject to persecution by the bourgeois reactionary line. The capitalist roaders accused us of being "Rightist students" and "young counter-revolutionaries." Reversals of the struggle caused us to realize for the first time the acute nature of class struggle, the danger of capitalist restoration, the formidable task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the importance of raising successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat during the historical period of socialism. We students trained in old schools were alienated from real life, from workers and peasants, and from the three great revolutionary movements. Wavering in thought, we could not stand the test of the storm of class struggle. If we did not take the road of integrating with the workers and peasants nor go to the front line of the three great revolutionary movements to temper ourselves and transform our objective world while transforming the subjective world, we could not possibly become reliable successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat nor contribute our strength to combating and preventing revisionism and consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat. Later, when we travelled on foot to other places to exchange experience, we conducted social investigations in Shashihyü, P'anchiayü and other areas in Hopei. We were impressed by the infinite expectations of our revolutionary forerunners for us young people and saw with our own eyes the gaps between city and country. So, we made up our minds to fight for the thorough transformation of the rural features and reduction of the three major differences.

Under the excellent situation marked by the great victories of the cultural revolution, I once asked myself: Now that the bourgeois headquarters with Liu Shao-ch'i as its head has been destroyed, how can we Red Guards continue to fight and make revolution to the end? After studying Chairman Mao's teaching that young people "must unite with the broad masses of workers and peasants and become one with them, and only then can a mighty force be created" ("The Orientation of the Youth Movement"), I realized that only by complying with Chairman Mao's instructions and uniting with the broad masses of workers and peasants unconditionally, permanently and wholeheartedly can young people overcome petty bourgeois vacillation, maintain and develop the revolutionary spirit of Red Guards, become fighters committed to combating and preventing revisionism, and fulfill the glorious mission given us by history. Accordingly, I resolved to take the lead in registering for going to the countryside to become a new peasant with both socialist consciousness and culture. At that time, I was a member of the school revolutionary committee. Some people tried to persuade me to stay behind, saying: "You are a leader, and you must proceed from the need to consolidate the new-born Red political power." I firmly replied: "Precisely because I am a leader, I should all the more take the lead to go to the countryside and fight for the defense of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the gains of the great cultural revolution on a new battlefield!" On July 8, 1968, I and my comrades-in-arms were among the first group to leave Tientsin for the vast Inner Mongolian grassland. Our wishes finally came true!

Looking back over this part of history, I understand that the destiny of this young generation of ours is closely tied to the great proletarian cultural revolution. The rolling torrents of the cultural revolution broke through the revisionist net fettering the vast masses of young people and opened up for us brilliant prospects of struggle. Without tempering by the cultural revolution, I could not have acquired a correct understanding of the need to go to mountain and rural areas, let alone take the action of dedicating myself to farming. No one can deny the far-reaching significance of the great cultural revolution. No one can tolerate the fact that Teng Hsiao-p'ing, the arch unrepentant capitalist roader within the Party, so soon after he went back to work, pushed the revisionist line, tried to reverse the verdicts of and settle the old scores with the great cultural revolution, and negated the socialist new thing that is the departure of educated youth for the mountain and rural areas. We educated youth are deeply aware of the danger of the revisionist line and the necessity of the great proletarian cultural revolution. We will never allow Teng Hsiao-p'ing to restore the old order and make us go backward, and will oppose him resolutely.

From the city to the countryside is a course of struggle, but to really strike root in the countryside, one will meet with even more difficulties and a sharper struggle. For the educated youth to go to the countryside and take the road of integrating with workers and peasants is a profound socialist revolution, one that smashes the centuries-old stepping-stone for "one who excels in learning to become an official," restricts bourgeois rights, and creates important conditions which make it impossible for the bourgeoisie to exist or for a new one to arise. As such, it is bound to strike fear into the hearts of the bourgeoisie inside and outside the Party and be vigorously opposed by them. On the question of whether to strike root in the countryside and make revolution for the rest of one's life or "pull out" and give up halfway, the struggle between two classes and two lines is very acute. From the fallacy of "going to the countryside to be gilded with gold" spread by Liu Shao-ch'i to Lin Piao's vicious attack about "reform through labor in disguise," and from the class enemy openly obstructing educated youth from going to the countryside to their fanning the evil wind to return to the city among the educated youth, there was but one aim: to bring about the early death of this new thing--educated youth going to the countryside--and to make them go back to the old road of revisionism. Whether to "pull out" or "strike root" involves a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat to capture successors. We should carry forward the revolutionary spirit of daring to go against the tide displayed by Red Guards in bygone years and advance against the wind and waves. So, on six separate occasions over the past few years, I passed over the opportunity to enter a factory, go to a university or become a cadre. Instead, with the resolute action of striking root in the countryside, I hit hard at the adverse current obstructing educated youth from going to the mountain and rural areas.

My action had the support of the Party and the majority of my comrades. However, some people found me "inscrutable" and felt "sorry" for me. Even my parents, who previously approved of my going to the countryside,

wrote to blame me. Moreover, some made various kinds of absurd speculations about me, saying that I had "personal motives." When workers were recruited for the first time, I did not apply, and some people said that I did not want to be a worker because I wanted to go back to Tientsin and enter a university. Later, when the poor and lower-middle peasants recommended my admission to the Tientsin Normal College, I declined, and some again said that I wanted to "gain a Party card." After I joined the Party, the poor and lower-middle peasants again recommended my admission to a university, but I declined all the same. Then some said that I wanted to "become an official." When the authorities of the banner wanted to transfer me to a department to take up a leading post, I asked to stay behind. There was the gossip that I did not go because the post was too low. Subsequently, when the Autonomous Regional Party Committee wanted to make me a leading member of the Regional Planning Commission, I repeatedly wrote to the leadership, asking to remain in the countryside and at the grassroots level. Neither reprimand by my family nor slander by others could shake in the slightest my determination to strike root in the countryside, but on the contrary, they made me further realize that this socialist new thing--educated youth going to the countryside--matures and revolutionary youngsters are tempered in struggle. I had greater faith in devoting my life to struggle in the countryside.

Some people ask: You don't want to go to university and you don't want to be transferred. What do you want? It is easy to answer this question. I must listen to Chairman Mao, carry revolution through to the end, and take the road of integrating with workers and peasants for the rest of my life. Chairman Mao has said: "How should we judge whether a youth is a revolutionary? How can we tell? There can only be one criterion, namely, whether or not he is willing to integrate himself with the broad masses of workers and peasants and does so in practice. If he is willing to do so and actually does so, he is a revolutionary; otherwise he is a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary. If today he integrates himself with the masses of workers and peasants, then today he is a revolutionary; if tomorrow he ceases to do so or turns round to oppress the common people, then he becomes a non-revolutionary or a counter-revolutionary." ("The Orientation of the Youth Movement") In my eight years in the countryside, profound changes have taken place in my thought and feelings, from studying in an old-type school under bourgeois domination and being divorced from the three great revolutionary movements to taking part in the fiery struggle in the countryside. From the bottom of my heart, I am deeply in love with the countryside, with the hard-working and brave poor and lower-middle peasants, and with the great cause of building a new socialist countryside. I feel like a seed finding fertile soil. On this land, I will strike root, bloom and bear fruits with the care of the Party and the poor and lower-middle peasants. I will learn from the poor and lower-middle peasants for the rest of my life, fight alongside them in building Tachai-type counties throughout the country rapidly as well as a more beautiful countryside, restricting bourgeois rights, filling the three big gaps, and hastening the realization of the far-reaching ideals of communism. Even if the three big gaps cannot be eliminated in our generation, I must give my all to the realization of this lofty ideal. If I have any "motive," that is my motive. It is not difficult for an educated youth to go to the countryside and work for a few years, but it is difficult for him to strike root there for the rest of his life,

advance along the road opened up by the older generation of proletarian revolutionaries, and persistently dedicate himself to arduous struggle for decades. To have the idea of working there for three to five years and then going away is actually to regard going to the countryside as political capital to exact a high price from the Party and the people, as a personal springboard by which to divorce oneself permanently from the countryside and agricultural labor. Those who cherish such an idea may be able to do something good for a time, but at best they are no more than passing travellers, not fighters continuing the revolution.

There are also people who say to me: "Isn't it true that you can do better in a new leading post than in a brigade or commune? That's also part of the requirement of training successors!" I feel that a person's role is not determined by his rank or authority nor is restricted by location, conditions or a particular type of work. The key lies in what line to follow, which class to serve and whether it is possible to forever maintain a vigorous revolutionary spirit. I do not deny that it is part of the need of the revolution that some educated young people are selected to become workers or go on to university or take up leading posts, and they may play a good role and make their contributions if they do so. However, it is also part of the need of the revolution that the majority should remain in the countryside and play a good role and make their contributions there. Particularly under the situation where the three major differences exist, it is all the more necessary to first consider the needs of the countryside and encourage a large number of young people committed to the fight for reducing the three major differences and restricting bourgeois rights to stay in the countryside. Training successors to the revolutionary cause of the proletariat is a prerequisite for consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat, and we must not only have people succeed to the leading posts but also even more people succeed the hundreds of millions of peasants and fulfill the task of consolidating the dictatorship of the proletariat right through to the grassroots level.

Having a correct idea of one's ideal and future and correctly treating one's choice of career form the ideological basis for one to strike root in the countryside and commit oneself to farming. In my school days, I was poisoned by the old educational system and, like many young students, thought that one could have ideals or a future only if one chose a respectable job and did something great. After I arrived at the countryside, the storm of class struggle and the sweat of arduous labor gradually washed away the pernicious influence of the revisionist educational line on me, and my stand and world outlook began to change. I came to realize that agriculture is the foundation of the national economy and peasants make up over 80 percent of the nation's population. The condition of the peasantry vitally affects the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the effort to combat and prevent revisionism. Why should the masses of poor and lower-middle peasants not have a future when they fight against heaven and earth and the bourgeoisie in the vast world of the countryside? Don't they have lofty ideals when they persist in taking the socialist road, criticize the revisionist line, persevere in continuing the revolution, work year in and year out, in rain or shine, neither for fame nor for profit, reap the fruit with their own sweat, solve the most urgent practical problems of food and clothing for the entire population, develop the socialist economy and consolidate the dictatorship of the proletariat? When I tie my own ideal and future to the

prospects of the countryside, I feel my ideal is full and my future is bright. Unswervingly I choose farm labor as my lifelong career. I feel that this is one of the distinguishing marks of my changed world outlook after eight years of arduous tempering. Some people ask: "How can doing farm labor be counted as choosing a job?" Yes, some never look upon farm labor as a career, let alone choose it. They are influenced by old traditional concepts. In doing farm labor under the guidance of Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, we walk the small field paths but scale the communist heights; we grow ordinary crops but reap the solid fruits of combating and preventing revisionism. What a commonplace and yet great undertaking! Once I settle for this job, I won't change it. If I can give my all to changing the backward features of the countryside and building a socialist large-scale agriculture, how glorious and proud I will feel!

The fact that I can strike root in the countryside and dedicate myself to farming is the result of re-education given me by the poor and lower-middle peasants as well as the result of my perseverance in reading and study and in linking theory with practice. Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought is the compass and steering wheel of revolution. Only when educated young people seriously study the theory of revolution can they sharpen their eyes and minds, maintain a firm stand, distinguish between the right and wrong lines, grasp the Party's policies and have a correct sense of direction in the course of the struggle between the two classes, two roads and two lines in the countryside. Only then will they persevere in making revolution in the countryside. In the past few years, bearing in mind Chairman Mao's teaching on taking class struggle as the key link, I have always persevered in grasping the line and major issues regardless of whether I am a commune member or a commune or brigade cadre. I resolutely oppose all deeds that are not in accord with Chairman Mao's revolutionary line and the Party's policies, and resolutely fight against capitalist spontaneous tendencies the moment they emerge. In addition, together with the poor and lower-middle peasants, I established an evening political school and set up a theoretical study group. We write and perform revolutionary cultural programs, using proletarian ideas to dominate the ideological and cultural position in the countryside. For the past eight years, however busy I might be, I have never divorced myself from labor, using my spare time to handle administrative affairs and office work. Last year, after I was made a deputy secretary of the commune Party committee who did not detach himself from production, I still lived in the same house and shared the same pot of food with other educated youth, and I still worked alongside the commune members and took work points instead of wages. Practice makes me deeply aware that this vast world of the countryside is like a battlefield or a university. Here there are more things than educated young people can learn or do. Their future is indeed bright.

Although I have worked in the countryside for eight years, this is only the first step of a revolutionary march of ten thousand li. We young people bear the expectations of the Party and the people. Our burden is heavy and the road ahead us is long. I have resolved to take concrete action and take an active part in the struggle to beat back the Right deviationist wind to reverse verdicts and criticize Teng Hsiao-p'ing and his counter-revolutionary revisionist line as well as improving and tempering

myself in struggle. I have decided to strike root in the countryside for the rest of my life, become a Red Guard without armbands to defend Chairman Mao's revolutionary line, forever stand in the fore of the three major revolutionary movements, and strive ceaselessly and as long as I live for the consolidation of the dictatorship of the proletariat and the magnificent cause of communism.

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